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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLE FURTHER DISCUSSES AMERICAN SOCIETY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 79 p 6 HK

[Article by Jin Feng [6855 7685]: "A Preliminary Inquiry Into American Society--Part II"]

[Text] Differences and Contradictions

We visited farms and pastoral areas. As our cars sped along the highways, we passed neat and good-looking farmhouses where white curtains hung low by the windows and the verandas were decorated with potted flowers in full bloom. We looked into the houses and saw sofas, carpets, pianos and oil-paintings. The kitchens were equipped with whole sets of electric cooking utensils. Goods on the shelves of the rural groceries were much the same as those seen in the cities. Only the Indian carvings at the door reminded us that we were in western United States.

The United States has a highly mechanized and electrified agriculture. There farm owners managed their farms in the same way as factory owners manage factories. The difference between agriculture and industry is narrowing.

There are a lot of college students in the United States who work and study part-time. At a dinner given by the wife of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Mrs Blumenthal, a neatly-dressed youth cordially served us food and drinks. He was a student working part-time to pay for the next semester. The girl driver who took us from Los Angeles to San Francisco was studying at the graduate school of a college of law. When we visited a Stanford University professor we were told that the professor cleaned his large house, grew flowers in the garden and even changed the water in his private swimming pool.

Education is highly developed in the United States. The whole nation spends \$142 billion in education, \$92 billion for secondary and primary education and \$50 billion for higher education. There are currently 60 million students and pupils in the country. Forty-nine million attend secondary and primary schools and 11 million are students at the institutions of higher learning. The universal improvement in the level

of education, and the high mechanization of production has naturally reduced the gap between [word indistinct] and manual labor.

Judging accordingly, it is true that what we usually term as the three great differences can be [words indistinct]

What stands out in the United States are the differences and contradictions between the rich and poor, different races and different classes.

We were told that America had about 300,000 people with annual incomes of \$1 million or more, [word indistinct] had incomes of more than \$100 million or even \$1 billion. On the other hand, according to an assistant secretary of agriculture, there are 6 million families of four with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 of whom 19 million people depend on government food stamps for survival. What a difference there is between an annual income of \$3,000 and one of \$1 million or \$100 million or even \$1 billion!

The ordinary American worries over basic medical expenses but there are others who do not have to. Free for plastic surgery as stated in advertisements, go like this: To make a big nose smaller--\$1,000 to \$3,000; to do away with facial wrinkles--\$1,500 to \$2,500; to make double-fold eyelid plus eliminating facial wrinkles--\$2,700 to \$7,000; to get rid of acne--[figure indistinct]--\$2,000; to cure flat breast--[figure indistinct]--\$3,000; to smooth out wrinkles in the stomach--\$3,000 to \$5,000.... In American society, at one extreme are families of four with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 struggling below the poverty line. While at the other extreme there are those who spend \$3,000 to \$5,000 to tighten abdominal skin stretched by too much eating! Such is the reality of American society.

Racial discrimination is still alive in the United States. One could tell at the first glance that the majority of doormen, hotel maids and street sanitation workers were mostly blacks or colored people. The shabby apartment houses in the black districts in New York City stood in sharp contrast with the luxurious skyscrapers in Manhattan. We were told that public order posed [word indistinct] problem in America. We attended a trial at a juvenile court in San Francisco. The three convicts were all blacks. I could hardly forget that sadness in the eyes of their parents. Had these youths abandoned themselves to vice? Certainly not, Unemployment, poverty and crushed hopes had forced them to take the road of crime. We were told that the unemployment rate among young blacks was 40 percent, three times that for white youths. The income of a middle class black family was said to be only half that of a middle class white family, and 28 percent of the black families had incomes below the officially designated poverty line.

In a word, it is the differences and contradictions that have led to social instability.

Marriage and the Family

On the road from Washington, D.C. to New York City, we met with Mr (Sam Wagner), who had driven all the way to welcome us to his home. In his self-introduction, Mr (Wagner) smilingly said: "I have a happy family--my old mother, my wife and three lovely children..." There are many other families like his in the United States. With the increase in the number of working wives, more couples are sharing household chores.

However, there are two sides to a coin. Once we [words indistinct] invited to dinner by a friend working in the financial circles in New York City. We found that seven American ladies also invited were all single. On another occasion, we were told by a woman [word indistinct] that since the end of World War II, especially in the past 20 years and more, there have been great changes in the marriage patterns in America; marriage was becoming relatively instable; the divorce rate had reached 30 percent according to general estimates and it had gone up to 50 percent in Washington, D.C. A woman assistant secretary of agriculture told us that among her dozen or so former female classmates, she was the only one who had not married a divorced man.

Judging from the statistics provided by our American friends, in all the families the traditional type of family with a male head of the household accounted for only 12 percent of the total; in 50 percent of the families both the husband and wife worked; and another 20 percent of the families had women as the head.

There are more and more couples who live together without being married and that seems to be a kind of additional type of American family. In addition, there are more and more people who are single. According to statistics, among the 220 million people in the United States, there are more than 15.5 million men and women who are single, which represents 21 percent of the total number of the American households. The figure is now on the increase. Some people predict that it will increase to 25 percent in 1985. There are immense social and economic reasons for this and its effects on U.S. society and the economy. (Arthur Norton), chief of the marriage and family section of the U.S. Census Bureau said: "Proportionally speaking, there are more and more people who will lead single life and there are more and more people whose marriages are breaking up. Many people believe that if they get married today, they will be hard up for money." (Frank Furstenberg), a professor of sociology at Pennsylvania University, believes that the "systematization of single life" has occurred. He said: "Some people regard it as the emancipation of society and others regard it as the disintegration of society. It is a double-edged knife with equal advantages and disadvantages."

Many American women are beaten and mistreated by their husbands. An official in charge of a center for mistreated women in Madison, Wisconsin said: In the United States, one woman is mistreated every 18 seconds. The number is horrifying. There are about 200 centers throughout the

country established by some women organizations and aided by government and other social organizations subsidies. We visited a center with a capacity of 40 persons that was set up a year ago. The mistreated women may stay there for 30 days. Psychologists talk to them and legal advisers take up their cases. The centers help them look for new jobs and new apartments. One hundred and seventy women or so were taken in one year and now about half of them have returned to their former families, 30 percent have new jobs and new apartments and more than 20 percent are divorced from their husbands. We interviewed a black woman at one center. She was a licensed nurse. She had been living with a cook for 9 years and was mistreated for 8 years. She left her family several times but then returned. This time she fled to Madison from Maine. She said she did this to save her life and the lives of her children. She made up her mind not to return to her husband again. She brought two children with her, the elder one was 6 years old and the younger one was only 15 months old. She was looking for a job and wished to start a new life. Leaving the center, her main thought was that although it is not bad to have these centers, their numbers are utterly inadequate and how many women could they help?

In New York, a woman in charge of family planning told me that every year, about 1 million minors become pregnant. Most of them are girls under 15. Sighing with regret, she said: Family planning in the United States should probably start from primary schools.

Those aspects of life in the United States reminded me of a brilliant exposition in the "manifesto of the communist party": "Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbances of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is [word indistinct] and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK STILL NECESSARY IN AWARD SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 79 p 1

[Article by Wang Xing [2769 5281]: "Don't Forget to Strengthen Ideological-Political Work at Any Time--Practice of Two Mechanical Work Teams of Beijing Engineering Section Proves That To Grasp or Not Ideological-Political Work Makes a Great Deal of Difference in Results"]

[Text] The Beijing Mechanical Work Team and the Yungdingmen Mechanical Work Team are two units recently simultaneously established by the Beijing Engineering Section. These two units have essentially the same personnel and equipment, but the results of the March evaluation of these two units were: the Beijing Mechanical Work Team failed to make the grade in production tasks and maintenance quality while the Yungdingmen Team was rated excellent in these aspects and number one among similar units. Why are the results so strikingly different for these two teams which are similarly equipped and do the same work?

Since the monetary award system was put into effect by the Beijing Engineering Section, some comrades have believed that once the system is in effect the cadres will have little to worry about and the workers will naturally put out more effort. Some comrades even said that empty talk does not bring any results, and it is better to give the workers more money. The leaders of the Beijing Mechanical Work Team saw nothing wrong in this kind of thinking and paid all their attention to monetary awards. The workers thought that railroad track maintenance was a rough unskilled job and that some compromise in workmanship would not cause serious problems. As long as they could reach the main targets, cash awards would surely be in their pockets. Members of this team live in the same compound with members of the maintenance section. For fear of the maintenance sections' "imposition of extra work" and "fault finding," which might adversely affect their performance evaluation and consequently their cash awards, they did not work together with the maintenance section. The work point system was abolished because of fear of complaints and disenchantment on the part of the staff and workers, thus relegating work analysis and criticism to a formality. This team was required to change all rotten railway ties, but for the sake of reporting an impressive mileage of railroad track that they had inspected, they skipped about 100 rotten ties. Some of the work which should have been done was cut

back. At one time a party member and three workers quit after having worked only half a day. The reason they gave was that the allotted work for that day had been completed. Because of laxity in ideological-political work, the Beijing Mechanical Work Team was unable to operate with conviction, resulting in failure to fulfill its task, and had to do work poorly done over again.

The leaders of the Yungdingmen Mechanical Work Team did not let the ideological problem run its own course after implementation of the cash award system. They grasped three things: First, they held discussions on "how to fight the first battle after the birth of this unit," and made everybody fully realize that in order to shift their work emphasis, it is important to explore potentials within the enterprise. They mobilized the staff and workers to utilize the mechanical equipment to the fullest extent as long as safety rules were observed and to guarantee the quality and quantity of their work. The workers were told that they should not fix their eyes only on money and not forget the important task of realizing the four modernizations. The staff's and workers' morale was high. They endeavored to make the best use of every minute and second. Second, they encouraged the hard-core personnel to set good examples for others to follow. Party and CYL members and old workers were organized to analyze the situation and study the work on hand. The hard-core personnel did in fact take the initiative to handle heavy duties, overcome difficulties and undertake ideological work. Party member Feng Zhen [7458 2182], head of the team, led the staff and workers in a rush to the first line of production on the second day after the establishment of the team. After working for a whole day, he spent the evening talking to the workers. The masses praised him as a front soldier and a man who really understands the workers. Third, they grasped management and educational work. In the middle of March they completed, as required, the maintenance work on two kilometers of railroad track in spite of the limited time allowed, the heavy task, and the presence of a large number of inexperienced workers in the team. They knew the difficulties involved, but they forged ahead. They inspected the track together with members of the maintenance section in order to define their job. Before undertaking each task, the workers were told every aspect of the task, such as specification, working procedure, quality requirements, and quantity of material to be used, so that everybody had an idea about the task. During the work, the experienced must teach the inexperienced, and they must cooperate with each other. Work was examined on the same day it was finished. If the work was found not up to standard, it had to be done all over again. Work points were credited to each worker every day after careful analysis. The workers were sometimes organized to study politics and technology. A young worker was solemnly criticized at a meeting because of his violation of labor discipline. He was made to understand that any contingent without discipline is devoid of combat force. Because of the strengthening of ideological-political work, everybody worked hard and the mission was fulfilled on time.

Through critical evaluation, the cadres of the Beijing Mechanical Work Team summarized the teachings and learned a lesson. They said that to grasp or not ideological-political work makes a great deal of difference in results. From now on, they added, they will never forget to strengthen ideological-political work at any time.

PARTY AND STATE

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE MENTALITY DESCRIBED AS EXPLOITATIVE

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jun 79 p 3

[Article by Yuan Shih: "The Special Privilege Mentality Is a Decadent Mentality of the Exploiting Class"]

[Excerpts] Recently some articles and comments in newspapers and magazines have discussed the issue of opposing special privileges. This is an important matter. Special privileges were the product of the exploiting system; the special privilege mentality is a decadent and diminishing mentality of the exploiting class. The people of the working class have always been against the use of special privileges. From a historical point of view, even the democratic system of the capitalist class did not recognize special privileges outside the purview of the law. Some open-minded feudal kings in history admitted that their own power ought also to be subjected to limitations.

However, in order to thoroughly understand the truth in the proverb "success comes from humility and failure comes from complacency," we should be aware, first of all, of the fact that special privileges are always class privileges, i.e., they are the privileges of the exploiter and the oppressor. The nation and the classes therein came from the forming of human society, whereby the exploiting class assumed dominating ruling position. A system of special privileges simultaneously appeared which carried out oppression and exploitation, and served to maintain the ruling order. From the standpoint of those classes which were oppressed and exploited, special privileges were endless ordeals which "squeezed" their blood and sweat, and were the most barbaric and bloody ruling system in the pre-socialist history of mankind. On the other hand, the special privileges of the exploiting class stripped the working people of any rights.

In a slavery society, the master of slaves enjoyed special privileges, and thus the slaves did not have any rights, being not only non-citizens but also non-human. The Roman law explicitly described a slave as a piece of property. Accordingly, a slave was the master's private belonging, with whom the master could arbitrarily buy and sell, beat and scorn, insult and dispose of, and it would be no crime even if the master tortured the slave to death. Under the special privileges of a slave master, a slave could only "survive like an animal."

In a feudal system, landowners enjoyed special privileges while peasants who were bound to the land had no rights. Although a peasant no longer was the private belonging of the landowner, and the road to emancipation seemed more eminent than a slave's, his status was in essence no different from that of a slave in a state adopting slavery system.

The production mode which capitalism has put into practice is quite incompatible with the way in which the feudal system was bound to the working people by virtue of geographical and class privileges. Thus, the capitalist class demanded the abolition of the special privilege institutions of the feudal system, and the elimination of the inequality that came with different class origins. The pioneer thinkers of the capitalist class mercilessly attacked and exposed the special privileges which the nobility and the church had enjoyed under the feudal system, asserting that such privilege was molesting the people's "natural rights," and that it was the fundamental cause for society to fall backward, to become chaotic and to be poor, decaying and dark, while the aristocrats and the clerics could do whatever they pleased without being subject to the law. Aimed at the decadent feudal system, the Enlightenment thinker Voltaire put forth the famous slogan, "Down with base and shameless things." The democratic system of capitalism affirmed "equality before the law," thus having abolished the feudal special privileges and recognized that all persons enjoy equal rights. No doubt, this was a major step forward in historical development. Of course, as the capitalist class immediately proclaimed in legislation unequivocally that private property should be considered sacred and inviolate, it also solidified the inequality which stemmed from differential property possessions, thus preserving de facto inequality, i.e., the de facto special privileges from capitalism. The capitalist class used but a new form of special privileges to replace those in the old form. As Marx and Engels pointed out, "The modern capitalist class society which came out of the ruins of the feudal society does not eliminate class antagonism. It merely replaces the old system with a new class, new oppressing conditions and a new form of struggle."

Needless to say, as long as the exploiting class remains the ruling class, the special privileges of the exploiting class will exist forever, making the change in the exploiting systems merely a transition of special privileges enjoyed by different exploiting classes. Special privileges and the special privilege mentality always belong to the exploiting class. In the final analysis, special privileges are the privileges of exploitation, of oppression, of exploitative relationships, and of oppressing relationships.

This makes it easier to understand that special privileges absolutely have nothing to do with the proletarian class, the two being as incompatible as between fire and water. Since the proletarian class has taken as its mission to eliminate all systems of exploitation, it must abandon entirely the special privilege mentality of the exploiting class.

However, the special privilege mentality of the exploiting class will not withdraw from the arena of history. Moreover, there are, in our socialist

society, conditions which would maintain and foster the growth and development of them. The harsh life has posed such a serious problem for us. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were scoundrels who played with special privileges, sabotaged the legal system, trampled on democracy, were arrogant and complacent, and disrespectful of the law and orders, and pushed the tendency of special privileges to an extreme, thereby having brought great crises to our socialist enterprise. Since the "gang of four" was smashed, the trend of special privileges which ran wild for a period of time has been dealt a severe blow. However, its ramnant poison and impact cannot be ignored. The true circumstances show that the bad tendency for using special privileges has not been completely halted. Some leading cadres are not enthusiastic about the Four Modernizations, but are rather active in promoting the creation of special privileges and pursuing political favors through the back door; they are interested in becoming officials and big bosses, even to the extent of buying special favors through corruption and bribery, violating the law and discipline, thereby deviating seriously from the masses, damaging the party's reputation and frustrating the positive attitude of the masses.

In our team of cadres there are just a few comrades who consider themselves to be powerful and important as officials and big bosses, and who talk only about rights but do not think about obligations. This is not correct. In our socialist system, rights and obligations are intertwined, and there is no right without an obligation, and no obligation without a right. Those who pursue a "right" without observing obligations can only be pursuing "special privileges," and are breaking the socialist system. The worst of the special privileges in a feudal society was nothing but the emperor's privileges, and yet even the open-minded Emperor Tai Zong of Tang knew the limits of special privileges in order to preserve the empire and stay in his "dragon palace." In a capitalist society, even though capital represents special privilege, its "democratic system" still ostensibly denies special privileges outside the purview of the law, if only for the purpose of keeping on cheating the people. Is it not so that the revolutionary proletarian class should look upon playing with special privileges as a great shame and insult, and completely do away with it?

The cardinal principle of the members of the Communist Party is to wholeheartedly promote the interest of the people, to enhance the public interests of the party and to avoid seeking benefits. In doing the work of our party and state and all other work, there is difference only in division of labor, not in status. We all are comrades, citizens. Every work or position has its responsibilities and limits. Everyone's responsibilities and limits should be respected and protected. No one should transgress his responsibilities and limits and invade those of others. Regardless whether a person is a worker, a peasant, a service personnel, or a leading cadre of any level in the party, the government or the military, everyone is completely equal, enjoying equal rights and observing equal obligations, in the performance of their jobs and in the exercise of their rights. No one is lower or higher than anyone else. If it is necessary to talk about ranking order and seniority,

Marxism has long set the rule that cadres of the Communist Party, their ranks of jobs notwithstanding, are all servants of the people, not the "parent officials" savagely exploiting the people; they will devote their lives only to the Party and people, and not to the manipulation of special privileges in politics or in life. For the need of performing a work, appropriate working conditions and treatment may be necessary, whereas absolute egalitarianism may not work or may even be harmful. However, we must not go beyond the bounds of authority at will, or arbitrarily violate provisions of a system, or even create special privileges in violation of the law and discipline, in order to pursue the interests of oneself or a family. Playing with special privileges is a bad habit from the exploiting class, it hurts other people as well as oneself. Members of the Communist Party ought to look upon this bad practice as an enemy, with profound detest and hatred.

Comrade Mao Zedong admonished us as early as 50 years ago: "We must be on guard against fostering bureaucratism and forming a noble class that would be separated from the people." We must continue to restore and enhance the "spirit of Yenan," the "spirit of Nanniwan," promoting the death-defying spirit which characterized the War, and comrades of all levels should lead in the arduous struggle to overcome the sentiment of giving oneself the airs of a hero, the arrogance and complacency, the bureaucratism, the patriarchal behavior, and the attitude of making oneself an official and a big boss. China after the disaster created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" urgently needs us to continuously heal the wounds, and the great prospect of the Four Modernizations requires us to work ceaselessly and unremittlingly share weal and woe to be selfless in our arduous struggle. If Emperor Tai Zong of Tang was nothing in comparison, because after all he was but a general representative of the landowners' class in a feudal system, then veteran proletarian revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Chen Yi, who served the people tirelessly until the end of their lives, would be our models from whom we emulate. For these people had dedicated themselves unselfishly to the revolutionary spirit and the spirit for excellence. We should carry forward and enhance to a greater extent this good tradition and shoulder heavy responsibilities in our unfinished undertakings.

9489

CS0: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

TEXT OF 'TIANJIN RIBAO' EDITORIAL ON PRACTICE AND TRUTH

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 79 p 1 HK

[TIANJIN RIBAO editorial: "Deeply Carry Out Discussions on the Criterion for Testing Truth"--words within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] A major event occurred in the political and ideological realm of our country after the smashing of the "gang of four," that is, the discussion on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. This discussion has greatly promoted the work of shattering the mental shackles imposed by the "gang of four" and breaking through various theoretical forbidden zones created by them, emancipating the minds of the whole party and of the people of the entire country and realizing the four modernizations and that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth is a fundamental principle of Marxism. Marx pointed out: "The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a /practical/ question. In practice, man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power of and the [word indistinct] of his thinking. The dispute over the reality or nonreality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely /scholastic/ question." Comrade Mao Zedong also made a penetrating exposition of this issue, pointing out: "Only social practice can be the criterion of truth," Only through the test of practice can we pass judgment on the correctness of a person's understanding and the correctness of a political party's line, guiding principle and policy.

However, when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, this elementary knowledge of Marxism was brutally trampled. They energetically spread the "theory of the peak," "every sentence is the truth" and "one sentence carries more weight than 10,000 ordinary ones." They exploited the people's love and esteem for the leader, deified the leader of the party, forced the people to go in for blind worship and obedience, used the revolutionary leader's words as shields to usurp party and state power, did not quote them in full, and wilfully interpreted and even fabricated them. They actually forced the people to have blind faith in and blindly follow their interpretations. If someone's interpretation was slightly different from theirs and if someone raised an objection, "antiMarxist," "counterrevolutionary revisionist" and "active counterrevolutionary"

labels would be put on them just like the golden hoop that was bound round the head of Sun Wukong, thus immediately ending their political lives. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not even have any scruples about adopting fascist measures to destroy them physically. A number of distinguished Marxists and proletarian revolutionaries of our party's older generation were killed by the abuse of power by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and not by a hail of bullets during their struggle against the enemy. A larger number of ordinary cadres, party members and people were persecuted by them for upholding the truth. The case of revolutionary martyr Zhang Zhixin is one of the glaring examples.

The mentality of ignorance and stupidity promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" brought forth large leftover troubles: political upheavals, unstable livelihood, corruption of social values and material shortages. These are obvious to all. If they were to spread unchecked, the subjugation of the nation and party and the restoration of capitalism would have soon become realities. Following the smashing of the "gang of four" and after the clearing of their counterrevolutionary factional network, the efforts to again put forward the issue of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth were actually aimed at continuing and deepening our ideological struggle against them.

The conscientious carrying out of discussions on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth is of special significance to Tianjin Municipality. Compared with many fraternal regions, the starting of the movement to expose and criticize the "gang of four" was late in Tianjin due to some former responsible persons of the municipality who kept the lid on and suppressed the masses. In particular, the municipality did not deepen in good time the exposure and criticism of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and did not truly carry out discussions on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. As a result, quite a few comrades have not shaken off the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some are still accustomed to pondering problems within the bounds set by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some comrades think that whatever the revolutionary leader approved or said must not be changed. Whoever changes them is chopping down the banner. Some think that whatever is stated in books or documents already issued forms the basis. They are only capable of simply checking numbers, copying word for word, copying indiscriminately the experiences of others and playing the roles of reception office and microphone. They do not think or conduct investigations and studies and are incapable of integrating the central authorities' lines, guiding principles and policies with the actual situation of their localities, departments or units. Some are blinded by their presumptuous self-conceit, have a very narrow outlook, feel complacent over occasional success and their peephole view, regard their work, which has lagged greatly behind other fraternal areas, as good, turn a deaf ear to the criticism of the masses and opinions of fraternal units and blindly follow the erroneous road. Some trim their sails, have no criterion for

distinguishing between right and wrong and are swayed by whichever side has more power or influence. But when they recollect the past, they find contradictions for which they can offer no explanations. Some love to talk and act big, make false reports, are boastful, regard goals of struggle as achievements already scored, give high-pitched loose talk and practice demagogy. Some do not practice self-criticism. If problems arise, they do not earnestly sum up experiences but just blame leaders and the masses and consider themselves free from responsibility. To correct the above-mentioned erroneous ideas and tendencies of some comrades, it is necessary for us to carry out reeducation in the basic principles of materialism among the people of Tianjin, particularly among comrades who are in charge of leadership work, to enable them to clearly understand practice as the sole criterion for testing truth.

Over the past 6 months, through our concrete practice in implementing the spirit of the third plenum of the CCP Central Committee, it has been all the more proven that the need for discussion on the criterion for truth is very urgent for our municipality. After the 3d plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee called on all party members to emancipate their minds, some people did not truly do so. However, when an evil wind of negating the four basic principles emerged in society early this year, some people connected it with the emancipation of minds, wrongly thinking that this was a result of the emancipation of minds. They therefore wanted to "put on the brakes" and come to a "halt." Tracing this view to its source, we can see that this was due to the fact that the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had not yet been eradicated. However, we must see the two following points: 1) for a certain period, there was no full inner party democratic life. Some comrades were accustomed to handling affairs in strict accordance with instructions and articles and were not good at thinking independently. 2) because of the evil influence of the habits of small productive forces, bureaucratism and subjectivism, some comrades had narrow fields of vision. They, therefore, failed to see vast vistas. When new things appeared, before them, they found fault and made a fuss over them.

We are facing the pressing situation of realizing the four socialist modernizations and building China into a powerful state, which also requires that we must clearly understand the issue of practice as the sole criterion for testing truth. We must shift the party's work focus to socialist modernization. This is a historic shift. At every historical juncture, if our ideology fails to catch up with the situation, it will be possible that we may fall behind. The turns we are facing this time are not just changes in targets and forms of our struggle. Our range of attention must now be shifted from the political and ideological fields to the economic one. The modernization we are going to realize is not a capitalist one, a revisionist one or any foreign one but a Chinese-type socialist modernization. Poor foundations and a huge population, which do not exist in any other country, are the exclusive characteristics of China's modernization. Our current task requires that we must proceed

from our national conditions and break a new path of our own. If we do not emancipate our minds, only depend on old experiences and methods to run affairs or just blindly copy the experiences and methods of others, it will be hard to avoid taking a tortuous path in our work.

To deeply carry out discussions on the criterion for testing truth, we must first do well in mastering weapons. We must conscientiously study the relevant expositions made by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, the instructions of the party Central Committee, the important documents of the third plenum and the important reports made at the second session of the Fifth NPC. We must also carefully read articles on this issue in newspapers and journals. It is necessary to overcome the unhealthy practice of not reading books and newspapers. When newspapers and journals are carrying out discussions, some comrades who do not understand or do not truly understand the Marxist theory of knowledge regard these discussions as monstrous mistakes. Appearing as "defenders of traditional moral principles," some even accuse newspapers and journals of "giving out poisonous gas" and of "chopping down the banner." Therefore, we must conscientiously study and clearly understand the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. Only by doing so can we avoid making Don Quixote-type mistakes in regarding windmills as enemies and fighting in a disorderly way.

The in-depth discussions on the criterion for testing truth should be held in close connection with the specific practice in socialist construction. It must not be a general, empty talk. It is necessary to sum up conscientiously our practical experiences of the past 3 decades, particularly of the past decade or more, on the basis of the actual situation of our own departments and units to see what has been done correctly and what has not been done so. By summing up both positive and negative experiences, we will find the law of the development of things, become sober minded, enhance our self-awakening, overcome blindness, do no or fewer stupid things that can be avoided, make no or fewer stupid mistakes that have been repeated many times and dare to explore new things and solve new problems in the course of the four modernizations,

To do well in carrying out discussions on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, we must closely integrate efforts to acquire a correct understanding and line with those to uphold the four basic principles. We must continue to deeply criticize the ultraleftist line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and eradicate its pernicious influence. We must draw clear-cut lines between true and sham socialism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the "gang of four," "all-round dictatorship," between the party's leadership and "kicking away party committees for making revolution" and between Marxism and revisionism. We must fully reckon that the brains of some comrades have been seriously poisoned by the line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." These comrades are unconsciously accustomed to looking at problems and handling affairs in accordance with the mode of thinking promoted by Lin Biao

and the "gang of four." As a result, they do not know they have been poisoned. If you want to criticize the sham socialism promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," some individuals say that your criticism attacks the socialist system; if you want to expose their fascist crimes in arbitrarily disrupting democracy and legal system, some individuals say that your exposure brings shame on socialism; if you want to criticize their "all-round dictatorship," some individuals say that your criticism negates the dictatorship of the proletariat; and although you are obviously defending Marxism, some individuals say that your defense means opposing Marxism. If this pernicious influence is not eradicated and if no clear line is drawn between truth and falsehood, how can we emancipate our minds and how can we quicken the pace of realizing modernization?

In holding discussions on the criterion of truth, we must give full play to democracy and implement the "principle of three nots"--not seizing on others' mistakes or shortcomings, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick. Due to limited practice, it is impossible for one person's understanding to be completely true. We must allow him time to change his views from being incorrect to more correct and from being one-sided to comprehensive. Completely negating a person for the incorrectness in his understanding is itself an absurd understanding and way of doing things. Those who are led should dare to explore and conduct self-criticism when making mistakes. Those who lead should bring democracy into play and allow the masses to speak. In this way, our cause will grow and flourish and the four socialist modernizations will be achieved at an early date.

"The movement of changes in the world of objective reality will never end and therefore the human understanding of truth acquired through practice will also never end. Marxism-Leninism does not mean a conclusion of truth but means constantly opening up new ways to understand truth through practice." We can surely put on a powerful and grandiose drama on the stage of realizing the four modernizations,

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI PAPER CARRIES LETTER ON CURRENT CLASS STRUGGLE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 17 Jul 79 p 3 HK

[Letter by Wei Zhongduan [7614 0112 4551] and Cui Zhengqi [1508 2973 6386]: "Why Do We Say That Class Struggle at the Present Stage in Our Country Is a Special Form of Class Struggle?"]

[Text] We say that class struggle at the present stage in our country is a special form of class struggle. The reason is that before the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production was completed in the main, class struggle was waged by the proletariat against the exploiting classes which were open and integrated. In our country at present, the classes of landlords and rich peasants have been abolished and the capitalists no longer exist as a class. Therefore, the proletariat mainly struggles against the remnants of the exploiting classes and the anti-socialist elements who no longer form an open, integrated class.

According to the viewpoint of historical materialism, the existence of a class is always linked with certain production relations and the change in ownership is a major indication of the abolition of a class. In our country, after socialist transformation was completed in the main, the capitalist class lost its ownership of the means of production, its command over production and its right to distribute products. The economic relationship among individual capitalists has been severed as a result of the deepening of the socialist transformation. In this way, the capitalists do not have the conditions of existing as a class in our country. This is an important factor in deciding that the capitalist class no longer exists in our country. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in 1957 in his article "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people": In our country, although socialist transformation in ownership has been completed in the main, "the bourgeoisie still exists." This chiefly meant that the capitalists still got a fixed rate of interest on their capital at that time and exploitation still existed. Now, more than 20 years have passed since the socialist transformation in the ownership of means of production was completed in our country, the capitalists have not received interest on their capital in 13 years, and the overwhelming majority of them who can work have become self-supporting workers. Therefore, we can say with certainty that the capitalists no longer exist as a class in our country.

The counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, criminals, degenerates, the new exploiters engaging in graft, embezzling and profiteering and the remnants of the exploiting classes in society cannot form an open, integrated class. This is because in our country the feudal and capitalist systems of exploitation have been abolished, the small production system has been transformed and the socialist system has withstood rigid tests and has been firmly established. It is impossible for a new exploiting class to emerge under these circumstances. Even the overwhelming majority of new exploiters engaging in illegal activities cannot legally possess the means of production and use them to exploit other people. Some of them can only carry out exploitation in some spheres of production or circulation. For example, they run illegal factories, engage in graft, embezzling and profiteering or directly misappropriate the fruits of labor of other people. They cannot emerge as an open, integrated class.

Since they can no longer be and cannot form an open, integrated class, why is the struggle against them a class struggle? Judging from their emergence, these people have their social, historical and class backgrounds. For instance, some of them are landlord and rich-peasant elements who have not been successfully remolded; while others are remnants of other exploiting classes. Some of them have been corroded by bourgeois and feudal ideas and subsequently are hostile to socialism, hanker after capitalism and degenerate into new exploiters engaging in graft, embezzling and profiteering. However, judging by the purpose and consequences of their criminal activities, they sabotage the four modernizations and directly harm the interests of the proletariat and the working people. Therefore, the struggle of the proletariat against them is not class struggle in the original meaning but is a special form of class struggle reflected in the conditions of socialism.

Moreover, as seen from its form and trend, class struggle is different from that in the past. Before the socialist transformation in the ownership of means of production was completed, the proletariat had struggled against the bourgeoisie to abolish private ownership which had existed for several thousand years. It adopted the form of a large-scale, turbulent mass struggle. The conditions changed after the socialist transformation in the ownership of means of production was completed in the main. In the final analysis, we formerly carried out class struggle in different ways to eliminate the old relations of production, remove the obstacles which impede development of productive forces and liberate the productive forces. After that, the productive forces were liberated. The class struggle waged by the proletariat will change to protect and develop productive forces under the new relations of production, and the focus of work will be shifted to socialist modernization. Our class struggle should focus on socialist modernization and be subordinate to it. This requires us to create a political situation of stability and unity needed by socialist modernization. We must arouse all positive factors to serve the four modernizations. The problem of the very small number of anti-socialist elements may be solved according to the constitution and the procedures laid down by the laws. These people should be hit at in any place or sphere where they emerge. It is not necessary to wage a country-wide, large-scale class struggle.

The influence of the bourgeois and feudal ideologies will exist for a long time among the people. Therefore, class struggle waged by the proletariat finds expression in ideological struggle and, in most cases, involves questions of understanding and thinking and is expressed in the form of contradictions among the people. These questions and contradictions can be resolved through patient reasoning and by strengthening political and ideological work and conducting long-term ideological education.

In a word, as a result of the fundamental change in class relations, and if there are no incidents of large-scale intrusion by foreign enemies in the future, class struggle can only develop in the general trend of gradual relaxation.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'JIANGXI RIBAO' CALLS FOR PERFECTING PARTY WORK STYLE

Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Jul 79 HK

[Report on JIANGXI RIBAO commentator's article: "It Is Imperative To Perfect Party Work Style"—date not given]

[Excerpts] Following the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has repeatedly called for reviving and carrying forward the party's fine tradition and work style. Comrades Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying and Deng Xiaoping and other leading comrades of the central authorities have repeatedly laid stress on perfecting our party's work style. The party Central Committee and quite a few local party committees have punished according to party discipline and the national law some party members and cadres who committed serious offenses against law and discipline, thus gradually reviving and carrying forward the party's fine tradition and work style. However, we must under no circumstances underestimate the internal injury done to us by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Their pernicious influence is still on the move and various perverse trends inside the party still exist on a widespread scale. To comprehensively revive and carry forward our party's fine tradition and work style, we still have to wage an arduous struggle.

The JIANGXI RIBAO commentator's article noted: Of the many current expressions of impure party spirit and unhealthy party work style, the glaring ones are: 1. bureaucratism: some regard making revolution as securing official positions and turn themselves from public servants into overbearing bureaucrats. They do not go deep into reality, do not maintain contact with the masses, do not make investigations and studies and give blind directions. Some, who enjoy high position and live in ease and comfort, neglect their duties, eat three square meals a day and do no work, establish luxurious and sluggish habits and pay no attention to the well-being of the masses. In their eyes, there are no interests of the masses. Some suppress democracy, disrupt the legal system, conceal their faults, gloss over their wrongs, regard themselves as infallible and even unscrupulously take strong and retaliatory measures against those individuals who differ from them on some issues,

2. The "special privilege" mentality: Some abuse their powers to seek personal interests, merely pay attention to seeking personal ease and comfort and ignore the people's suffering. They even violate financial and economic discipline, practice fraud, use public office for private gain, go in for formality and extravagance, eat and take more than they are entitled to, go in for extravagant eating and drinking, give dinners or send gifts in order to curry favor and spend without restraint. When some get to the top, all their friends and relations get there with them. To meet their selfish desires, some follow the morally degenerate and criminal road of embezzlement, theft and taking bribes.

3. Disregarding organizational discipline: Some pay no attention to centralism and unity, go in for ultrademocracy and anarchism, do not conscientiously implement the party's guiding principles and policies and the higher authorities' instructions and even use them to serve their selfish needs. They overtly agree to the guiding principles, policies and instructions but covertly oppose them, thus forming intermediate obstructions and block the implementation of the guiding principles, policies and instructions. Some deceive those above and bully those below, seize every chance to gain advantage by trickery, tell lies, talk big, are boastful, cover up their faults and publicize their merits, do not reflect things as they really are and try in every possible way to distort facts. Some are fond of inquiring about and spreading hearsay, thus leaking party or state secrets.

The harmfulness of factionalism in some areas and units is very serious. The known examples are too numerous to mention individually. Some try to find backers, form factions, get up to little tricks inside the party, go in for carrying out nonorganizational activities and forming small coteries inside the party, are on intimate terms with their factions and not with the party, exchange flattery and favors and disrupt unity. Some are still drawing some people over to their side. They concentrate on stirring things up and starting rumors, confound black and white, distort facts, make sneak attacks on others and always want to use schemes and intrigues to disrupt the situation and overthrow some comrades who adhere to the party spirit. Shielded by factionalism, some refuse to accept the jobs that the organizations assign to them and even put pressure on their organizations. Here we must specially point out that a very few individuals still take a sceptical attitude toward the important achievements scored at the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the provincial CCP committee which was held in this January in accordance with the spirit of the third plenum of the party Central Committee. They still dislike ways to resolve party relations and matters of principle concerning ideology and political line. We would like to ask: Out of their concern for the destiny and future of the party and state and out of their concern for the four modernizations plans in their own areas and departments, the masses of cadres and people have called for clarifying right and wrong in line and for thoroughly smashing the bourgeois factional forces. This is a very good thing. Where does your dislike come from?

Practice has shown that the rectification and study movements carried out by the enlarged meeting of the standing committee of the provincial CCP committee and also carried out after the enlarged meeting by party committees at and above the county levels have gone deep into reality and discovered ideological blocks which are detrimental to the shift of the work focus. These ways of doing things are completely correct.

Although these various manifestations are partial and secondary problems, they are serious. Unhealthy party work style has seriously corroded the party apparatus and the ideology of party members and cadres, disrupted the relationship between the party and the masses, dampened the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of people, impaired the party's prestige and reputation and weakened the party's fighting forces. They are factors in the current instability and disunity and are serious blocks to our realization of the four modernizations. The unhealthy work style has become the subject of much discussion among the masses of people. They are worried about and dissatisfied with this and urgently call for enforcing party discipline and rectifying party work style. The demand of the masses is worth listening attentively to and is worth pondering. If we do not attach importance to these problems and do not adopt truly effective measures to solve them, the party's correct line cannot be implemented, the guiding principles and policies formulated by the third plenum and various tasks put forward by the second session of the Fifth NPC will come to nothing, we will be incapable of leading the people to do well in the readjustment of the national economy and it will be impossible for us to realize the four socialist modernizations.

Leading cadres at all levels must be deeply conscious of their great responsibilities in rectifying party work style. They must always be discreet in their words and acts and even pay attention to the effect and consequence of a single act.

Over half of our party members joined the party since the great cultural revolution. They do not understand or do not quite understand party regulations, party law and party tradition. Some of them even regard factionalism as party spirit and regard perverse trends as party work style. Therefore, we must conduct education in party spirit, party discipline and party work style for them. Under the new situation, it is also necessary for comrades who joined the party at an earlier stage to restudy these.

The JIANGXI RIBAO commentator's article said in conclusion: To perfect party work style, it is imperative to mobilize all party members to participate in it. Under the leadership of party committees, discipline inspection committees at all levels must tangibly take on the glorious and arduous task. The masses of party members and cadres must show concern for and support the work. We must strengthen the supervisory role played by party members and the masses of people, carry forward inner-party democracy and the people's democracy, exercise strict control over the party's organizational life and perfect the party's various systems. We must score achievements in perfecting party work style and strive to revive and carry forward the party's fine tradition and work style and to quicken the pace of realizing our socialist modernization.

PARTY AND STATE

'BEIJING RADIO' CITES REMARKS BY FORMER KMT COMMANDER

Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0130 GMT 25 Jul 79 OW

[Excerpts] (Li Jixian), former commander of the KMT 64th army who left the mainland for Taiwan last year with the approval of the people's government, has recently returned to the motherland from Hong Kong and attended a meeting held by the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the revolutionary committee of the Kuomintang.

Speaking at the meeting, (Li Jixian) said: "The Chinese Communist Party and the people's government have honored their policies on Kuomintang military and administrative personnel. I am a good example for testifying to the people's government's policy of guaranteeing freedom to come and go for all KMT military and administrative personnel.

Serving as a member of the secretariat of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee, (Li Jixian) and 20 other former KMT military and administrative personnel left mainland China for Taiwan and Hong Kong with the approval of the people's government in November 1978.

He said: "The policy of guaranteeing freedom to come and go adopted by the people's government not only shows respect for personal aspirations but also takes into account individual sentiments. This policy manifests the generosity of the Chinese communists. I hope that the Taiwan authorities will comply with the aspirations of the people, gain a clear understanding of the trend of events and swiftly remove the barriers between Taiwan and the motherland and grant freedom to come and go to the Chinese compatriots residing on both sides of the Taiwan Straits."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

ZOU TAOFEN MEMORIAL HALL REOPENED IN SHANGHAI

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1245 GMT 25 Jul 79 OW

[Excerpts] Shanghai, 25 Jul--The Taofen Memorial Hall which was closed down for a decade and more reopened on the occasion of Comrade Zou Taofen's 35th death anniversary.

Comrade Zou Taofen was a famous journalist, political commentator and publisher in China. In the old society under Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule, he was repeatedly compelled to live a fugitive's life and jailed, but he did not compromise at all. With a pen as his sharp weapon, he persisted in taking the revolutionary political stand of a cultural fighter who sought truth. With the attention and guidance of the CCP, he at last became a communist fighter. He died on 24 July 35 years ago. The party and people held him in high esteem and honor.

The Taofen Memorial Hall was set up in Shanghai in 1956 in accordance with the decision made by the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee. Nevertheless, when the "gang of four" were rampant, Comrade Zou Taofen was slandered as a representative of sinister publishers of the 1930's, the Jinbu bookstore which he founded was labeled as a sinister store of the 1930's, and he was stigmatized as the proprietor of a sinister store. The followers of the "gang of four" in Shanghai even secretly set up a special group for handling the Taofen case. The Taofen Memorial Hall was forced to close down. Comrade Zou Taofen has been rehabilitated since the smashing of the "gang of four."

On the eve of Comrade Taofen's 35th death anniversary, the propaganda department of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee held a discussion meeting in memory of Comrade Taofen's militant life. The meeting called on people to learn from Comrade Taofen's revolutionary spirit and fine work style.

On the morning of 24 July, the responsible persons of the Shanghai Municipal Culture Bureau, women's federation and publications bureau, the China Welfare Society and the Taofen Memorial Hall laid wreaths at the Shanghai Revolutionary Cemetery in memory of Comrade Taofen. They were joined by Comrade Taofen's relatives and colleagues.

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI OFFICIAL DISCUSSES STUDY OF LAWS

Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Jul 79 HK

[Radio talk by Cheng Guanghua, Standing Committee member of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee, vice chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee and head of the political and legal group of the provincial CCP Committee: "Extensively Whip Up an Upsurge of Studying and Publicizing the Seven Branches of Laws, Strengthen the Socialist Legal System and Promote the Four Modernizations"]

[Summary] The second session of the Fifth NPC proclaimed the seven important branches of laws, including criminal law, criminal procedural law and so on. The Anhui Provincial CCP Committee has issued a circular on studying and publicizing these laws. Like the people throughout the country, the cadres and masses in the whole province have seriously studied and fervently discussed them. An upsurge of study has been initially whipped up.

"Although our province achieved certain results in studying and publicizing the seven branches of laws, it has not insured that they are known to every household and person. We must extensively whip up an upsurge in study and publicity." Party committees and departments at all levels must include study and publicity of the seven branches of laws on their agendas, publicize the important significance of strengthening socialist democracy and the legal system and publicize the guiding thought, tasks and basic contents of all branches of laws. They must commend the good law-abiding people and the good events of observing the law,

"Our political and legal departments must resolutely strike blows at the sabotage activities of counterrevolutionaries and other criminals. They must conduct investigation and study and take the effective measures to solve the problems of juvenile delinquency."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

GUIZHOU HOLDS PROVINCIAL MEETING OF PROPAGANDA CHIEFS

Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 27 Jul 79 HK

[Excerpts] The Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee held a provincial meeting of directors of propaganda departments from 14 to 24 July. The meeting upheld practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, carried forward democracy, emancipated the participants' minds, analyzed the situation, exchanged conditions, achieved unity in thinking and discussed work to be carried out during the second half of the year. The meeting noted: The current ideological and theoretical tasks are: continue to persistently publicize and implement the spirit of third plenum and the second session of the Fifth NPC; deeply study and discuss practice as the sole criterion for testing truth; correctly publicize and implement the four basic principles; merge the thinking inside and outside the party into the spirit of the third plenum and the second session of the Fifth NPC; dedicate ourselves heart and soul to successfully fighting the first campaign to realize the four modernizations; and resolutely promote this year's industrial and agricultural production in Guizhou Province.

Some 200 people attended the meeting. They included propaganda department directors of all prefectural, municipal and county CCP committees, responsible comrades of propaganda branches of all provincial departments, committees, offices and bureaus, responsible comrades of propaganda branches of universities and colleges and responsible comrades of provincial propaganda units. Comrade Miao Chunting, deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, attended and spoke at the meeting. Comrade (Li Yijiang), member of the Standing Committee of the provincial CCP committee and director of the provincial propaganda department, also spoke.

The meeting conscientiously studied Premier Hua Guofeng's government work report, the communique of the third plenum and the relevant documents.

The participating comrades held that the situation has been truly excellent since the third plenum. A series of important policy decisions on economic matters made by the party Central Committee have mobilized the enthusiasm of the masses of cadres and people and brought about a speedy advance in industrial and agricultural production. In particular, following the

implementation of the two documents concerning agricultural issues, an elated situation has prevailed in all rural areas which has not been seen for many years. Practice has proven that a series of guiding principles and policies formulated by the third plenum are completely correct.

The participating comrades noted: having the excellent situation is the main trend. However, this does not mean that there are no problems. The noteworthy things are the erroneous leftist and rightist ideological trends within the party and in society which doubt and oppose the third plenum. Due to the propaganda education in upholding the four basic principles conducted during the previous period, we have checked within a relatively short period the interferences from the right. However, we have not completely solved the problems in this regard and it is still necessary for us to continue to firmly grasp and carry out ideological and political work. In particular, we must strengthen education in ideology and politics for our youths.

The meeting discussed and arranged propaganda work to be carried out during the second half of the year. It noted that during the second half of the year, it is imperative to concentrate our attention on successfully grasping the following work: 1) We must do well in organizing cadres at their posts to study the important documents of the second session of the Fifth NPC. 2) We must do well in training off-duty cadres. All prefectures and counties must do well in conscientiously running their party schools and persist in training cadres by rotation all the year round. 3) We must do well in grasping mass propaganda work and convey the spirit of the third plenum and the second session of the Fifth NPC to basic-level units and the masses.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG PARTY SCHOOL HOLDS STUDY COURSE FOR CADRES

Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT 27 Jul 79 HK

[Summary] This year's first study course for leading cadres at and above the county level, held by the party school of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee, has concentrated studies on the great strategic significance of the shift of the focus of party work to modernization. The participants have continued to emancipate their minds, eliminate the remnant poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and merge their thinking into the spirit of the third plenum.

This study course began in March. The participants include secretaries and deputy secretaries of county party committees, directors and deputy directors of departments of prefectural and municipal party committees, and cadres from the provincial organs. Comrade Xi Zhongxun, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, spoke at the commencement of the course, conveying the spirit of the third plenum.

The participants cited hosts of facts to show that the situation has been excellent since the third plenum. "As a result of study, a very few comrades who previously held that the proposal to shift the focus of work was made 'too early,' that the policies were 'rightist,' and that bringing democracy into play and emancipating the mind had 'been taken to excess' heightened their understanding and corrected their ideological line."

They all held: "To develop the current excellent situation, and first promote the agricultural foundation, we must unswervingly implement the principle of emancipating our minds, getting our brains working, seeking truth from facts, and uniting to look ahead, and apply the spirit of the third plenum to unify our thinking. We must continue to bring democracy into play and put the legal system on a sound basis. We must continue to eliminate the poison of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," clear away interference, distinguish between right and wrong, continue to launch in depth the debate on practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, and seriously correct our ideological line."

The participants also held: "To reiterate upholding the four basic principles certainly does not mean 'retraction' or 'correcting deviations.' It is for

the purpose of overcoming interference from left and right." They said: "The masses now all say that they are afraid that the policies will be changed and that the good times will not last long, while certain cadres are talking about 'retraction' and 'correcting deviations.' This way of talking is diametrically opposed to the masses' demands and finds no favor with the people." They said: "To promote agriculture, we must first rely on applying the correct policies to mobilize the activism of the millions of the masses. We must maintain stability and continuity in the party's basic rural policies. We must not issue an order in the morning and rescind it in the evening, thus losing the people's trust. We also cannot have orders coming from all directions and everyone going his own way."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG PUBLIC SECURITY DIRECTOR CALLS FOR UPHOLDING LAWS

Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Jul 79 SK

[Talk by (Guo Hongye), director of the Shandong Provincial Public Security Bureau: "Uphold the Legal System, Protect Democracy and Safeguard the Four Modernizations"—recorded]

[Excerpts] The criminal law and the law of criminal procedure of the People's Republic of China and the other five laws passed and promulgated at the second session of the Fifth NPC represent the desire and will of the 900 million people in our country and are a concentrated reflection of the policies and stand of our party. They will be a vital guarantee for the development of our political situation of stability and unity and for the smooth progress of our program of socialist modernization. We public security cadres and policemen fully support these laws and will resolutely enforce them.

During the great cultural revolution, we suffered severely from the chaotic situation created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This bitter lesson has made us all the more deeply aware that for us people of a socialist country, the socialist legal system and socialist democracy are like life sustaining necessities which we cannot do without. We know that without the legal system and democracy there would be no socialism, the nation's prosperity and the people's well-being would be inconceivable, and the four modernizations would never become a reality.

It is the sacred duty of public security organs to strengthen the socialist legal system and protect the people's democratic rights. At present we must go into vigorous action to earnestly study the laws and, through practice, learn to accurately apply them. We must strive to build our public security organs into models in publicizing, observing and implementing the legal system. Under the unified leadership of the party committees at all levels, we must carry out vigorous propaganda activities to strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system and conduct extensive and penetrating education in this regard so that the state laws and decrees will be known to everyone and a social practice in which everyone abides by the laws will be formed.

Public security organs at all levels must conscientiously sum up both positive and negative experiences in enforcing the laws and adhere to the principle that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Correct things in the past must be firmly continued and carried forward. What was inappropriate must be readjusted and improved. Moreover, mistakes must be corrected.

Public security organs are judicial units. They directly shoulder the law-enforcement task. Every public security cadre and policeman must learn to use the law as a weapon to struggle against active counterrevolutionary and other criminal acts, correctly handle the contradictions and questions among the people and maintain the public security and order of society. He must strictly observe all provisions of the laws, adhere to the principle and never be swayed by personal relationships, or seek personal gain or comply with any illegal request. He must strive to be an upright and impartial public security fighter.

We must be determined to grasp the study and implementation of the guidelines of the second session of the Fifth NPC and the state laws promulgated at that session as a matter of prime importance. Before the laws go into effect, we must be well prepared in every aspect for their enforcement. We must contribute our share to upholding the legal system, protecting the people's democratic rights and safeguarding the smooth progress in the course of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI COUNTY PROCURATORATE INVESTIGATES KANGAROO COURT CASE

Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 30 Jul 79 OW

[Excerpts] Recently the Jinshan County people's procuratorate investigated a case involving (Zhang Wenqi), party branch secretary of (Yanan) brigade of (Fengwei) commune, Jinshan County, and a number of others who set up a kangaroo court to illegally beat up a commune member and infringe upon his human rights. After investigation, the county procuratorate deemed it a serious case of violating law and discipline. It has recommended that the commune party committee strictly handle the case and plans to unfold propaganda and promote mass education in the legal system using the case for material.

Sometime between last April and May, (Qian Shenyao), a commune member of the ninth production team of (Yanan) brigade, stole some (?safflower) plants from the fields of the 9th and 10th production teams. Stealing collective property is wrong. But the only measures called for were some proper criticism and education to make the culprit admit his mistake. However, after twice holding meetings to study the case against (Qian Shenyao), the (Yanan) brigade party branch hired a young thug named (Mao Bi), who in the past stabbed another person with a knife and stole watches and other personal belongings from others, to "teach" (Qian Shenyao) a "lesson."

(Qian Shenyao) was given a serious beating while being bound for over 1 hour. For some time thereafter, (Qian Shenyao) was unable to do manual labor and earn workpoints to support his family. But the story did not end there. In an attempt to frame (Qian Shenyao) with false charges, (Zhang Wenqi) and others of the brigade party branch, instead of admitting their mistake, jointly wrote a letter to the county party committee falsely accusing (Qian Shenyao) of trying to pass himself off as a PLA man, for which he was detained by the local police station, and of wantonly engaging in family sideline production.

After investigating the case according to the letter sent by the brigade party branch, the county procuratorate could not find any support for the charges. Thus, it held that by holding a kangaroo court and seriously beating up another commune member, the (Yanan) brigade party branch

seriously violated law and discipline. It maintained that party branch secretary (Zhang Wenqi) and others with him committed a serious crime by using false charges to accuse others, instead of admitting their mistakes. Local commune members are extremely indignant over the case. At present the case is pending disposal by the commune party committee.

While carrying the above report, JEIFANG RIBAO also published a short commentary entitled "Cadres Must Study Law Well and Be Models in Abiding by the Law."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI PARTY SCHOOL STUDENTS COMMENT ON CLASS STRUGGLE PROBLEMS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 79 p 1 HK

[XINHUA Report: "Students of Theoretical Training Class of Party School of Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee Discuss Problems of Class Struggle"]

[Text] Students of the theoretical training class at the party school of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee seriously studied Premier Hua Guofeng's government work report delivered at the second session of the Fifth NPC and enthusiastically discussed the question of class struggle and the main contradiction centered on our country's present class situation. In so doing, they have deepened their understanding of the vital significance of the shift of the party's work focus and further comprehended the tasks of theoretical and propaganda workers.

In the course of study and discussion, the students held that the scientific analysis made by Comrade Hua Guofeng on our country's class situation and class struggle is a summing up of our country's theory and practice concerning class and class struggle during the past 20 years or more; it is also a powerful criticism of the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Many of them said: Proceeding from an idealistic assessment of classes, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" broadened the scope of class struggle, thereby bringing great suffering to the Chinese people. They babbled that class struggle had become more and more acute. Holding an ulterior purpose, they concocted the reactionary fallacy of the "new change of class relations" characterized by the presence of the bourgeoisie in the party, and pointed the spearhead of dictatorship at large groups of old cadres and the broad masses of people. This caused serious consequences. In past years, we have suffered greatly from an idealistic assessment of classes and an idealistic analysis of class struggle. Through study and discussion, the students held that the series of principles and policies adopted by the party Central Committee since the third plenary session--such as the policy of removing the designations of landlords and rich peasants who have reformed, of removing rightist labels and rehabilitating those who were wrongly labeled as rightists, and of implementing policies concerning industrialists and businessmen--are completely in keeping with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They are firm proletarian policies that are neither "right deviationist" nor "excessive."

• In the course of study and discussion, many students said: In light of changes in the conditions of classes in our country, we must correctly understand and handle the problems of class struggle. We must not only prevent the viewpoint of dying out of class struggle but also that of broadening the scope of class struggle. The students believed that even though class struggle still exists in our country after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of ownership, its features are different from those of the past. The characteristics of class struggle are: 1) The target of class struggle is different. Before the socialist transformation of ownership was completed, the struggle was against exploiting classes as a whole. The present struggle is against a very small number of counter-revolutionaries, criminals of other categories and new elements of the exploiting classes, some remnants of the "gang of four," a very small number of landlord and rich-peasant elements who have not been reformed and some remnants of other exploiting classes. 2) The form of class struggle is different. Prior to the transformation of the system of ownership, class struggle was a large and turbulent mass struggle, such as with land reform, the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and the three-anti's and five-anti's campaigns. But now, under general conditions, class struggle can be and should be solved in accordance with state laws. We should hit at the handful of class enemies where they come forward. We are no longer required to and should not wage large and turbulent mass struggles. 3) The tendency of development of class struggle is different. Before the socialist transformation of ownership was completed, the landlords, rich peasants and other bourgeois elements attacked the proletariat to protect their class interests. As a result, class struggle was often violent. The feudal and capitalist exploiting systems have now been abolished and the socialist system has a solid foundation. After going through struggle and receiving education over the past 3 decades, the overwhelming majority of the people of the exploiting classes who can work have been remolded and become self-supporting. For this reason, the number of class enemies has decreased rather than increased; the scope of class struggle has narrowed rather than broadened; and class struggle on the whole is gradually being relaxed rather than sharpened. We are obviously very wrong if we do not see these new characteristics in the trend of class struggle and if we keep on creating class struggles and launching country-wide political campaigns.

In the course of study, many students said: Seeing clearly the main current contradictions of Chinese society is of great importance in making intensive efforts to realize the four modernizations. Not long ago, some people blamed the suspicion of the four basic principles on the failure to grasp class struggle. They were wrong. While class struggle still exists, it is no longer the main contradiction in our society. The main aspects of the contradictions are the development of productive forces, the realization of the four modernizations and efforts to change the low level of productive forces in our country. To rapidly develop the productive force we should try to change those factors in the production relationship and the superstructure that hamper the progress of the

four modernizations and work to eliminate the old force of habits that hinder efforts to bring about the four modernizations. Naturally we have to merge class struggle with the central work of socialist modernization to develop the political situation of stability and unity for the realization of the four modernizations. When we say class struggle is not our country's current main contradiction, we do not mean to say that class struggle should be abandoned and counterrevolutionaries and other criminal elements be allowed to carry out disruption and sabotage. On the other hand, we should not mention class struggle on every occasion and even use it to cover up shortcomings in work, silence the people and block the road to political democratization.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

LECTURE ON MAINTAINING SOCIALIST ECONOMIC ORDER

Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 0000 GMT 25 Jul 79 OW

[Seventh in series of lectures on China's criminal law: "Struggle Against Sabotage of Socialist Economic Order and Insure Smooth Realization of Four Modernizations," by the criminal law department of the law institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Excerpt] To cope with the needs regarding shifting the focus of our country's work to socialist modernization, speeding up the growth of the national economy and building China into a modern, powerful socialist state, it is not only necessary for us to have a political situation of stability and unity but also necessary to maintain a fine socialist economic order. Therefore, we must stand firm to combat any criminal act against the socialist economic order.

1. What are offenses against the socialist economic order?

According to our criminal law, those who violate the economic control regulations of industry, commerce, banking and finance, undermine the production and management of the sectors of the economy owned by the whole people or collectively owned by the masses of working people, disrupt market transactions and the state's banking and financial administration, or seriously damage the country's socialist economic order shall be subject to criminal sanctions. Article 8 of our constitution clearly points out: "The state insures the consolidation and development of the socialist sector of the economy owned by the whole people and of the socialist sector collectively owned by the masses of working people. The state prohibits any person from using any means whatsoever to disrupt the economic order of society, undermine the economic plans of the state, encroach upon or squander state and collective property, or injure the public interest." Acting in accordance with Article 8 of our constitution, the criminal law also describes other offenses as criminal acts against the socialist economic order. These include cases of smuggling, speculation, production sabotage, tax evasion and refusal to pay taxes, forgery of national currency and valuable securities, serious destruction of forests and resources of marine production and wildlife and misappropriation of state funds or material earmarked for relief purposes.

2. Why is it necessary to wage resolute struggle against crimes in sabotaging the socialist economic order?

After obtaining political power, an important task for the proletariat is to build and consolidate the socialist economic foundation of the state and safeguard the socialist economic order. The proletariat's establishing and maintaining socialist economic order and insuring its development through its own political power is an important issue having a direct bearing on the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Following the establishment and consolidation of China's socialist economic foundation, we have succeeded in gradually establishing and improving the socialist economic order in our country. In the early stages of nationwide liberation, what the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries left behind was serious inflation, sky rocketing prices, a declining economy and hardships of all descriptions among the masses of people. On the one hand, our party and the people's government resolutely confiscated bureaucrat capital and put the socialist national economy in a leading position; on the other hand, strenuous efforts were also made to adopt a series of effective administrative steps and economic measures, formulate a series of economic control regulations, practice unified management and leadership over economic and financial work throughout the country, resolutely strike at speculation and combat all criminal acts against the socialist economic order.

It must be pointed out that these important economic administrative measures and economic control regulations adopted by our party and the people's government played an effective role in eliminating the state of confusion in our country's economic order which existed in the early stages of liberation, improving our country's finance and economy, ending inflation and unstable prices in China, restoring China's national economy, promoting the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industrialists and businessmen, and in improving the people's welfare.

However, due to the ideological influence of the exploiting classes, plus the fact that our country's socialist economic system is still not perfect and the level of economic control remains very low, criminal acts against the socialist economic order will exist for a long time to come. This was especially true in the heyday of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Under their support, shelter and connivance, a handful of old and new exploiters teamed together to adopt all kinds of illegal methods to unscrupulously undermine our rational economic control system. Corruption, embezzlement and speculation thus became a common practice at that time.

Meanwhile, many localities were also seriously flooded by capitalism for a considerable period of time, thus bringing our national economy to the brink of collapse. Even today we must still render great efforts to eliminate the evil consequences and serious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Many newly emerging exploiters engaging in acts of smuggling and speculation are thieves and hooligans in our society. They spend the fruits of labor of the masses on drinking and eating and leading comfortable lives through illegal activities. Meanwhile, to enrich themselves, they generally use money and women to win over decadent cadres and weak-minded persons to help them commit crimes. This constitutes a serious threat to the safety of the persons and property of the masses of people, and also damages our social customs and habits. The masses of people in some localities are suffering once again politically and economically from cheating and exploitation by the newly emerging exploiters.

It is beyond any doubt that one of the important tasks of proletarian dictatorship is to wage a resolute struggle against acts sabotaging the socialist economic order. Only by doing so will it be possible for us to encourage the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals to carry out their work in a more effective way under the fine socialist economic order, to further arouse the people's enthusiasm for building socialism, to achieve the four modernizations and to improve the people's material and cultural standards.

3. How can we apply criminal law to combat criminal acts against the socialist economic order?

It is necessary to adopt all sorts of measures to combat acts against the socialist economic order. Using criminal law in this struggle is a very important measure. How can criminal law be used in this struggle?

A. It is necessary to firmly grasp the major target of struggle. Article 118 of the criminal law points out: "Those who make a regular business of smuggling, speculating and profiteering, engage in smuggling, speculating and profiteering in a big way or who are ringleaders in smuggling, speculating and profiteering groups will be sentenced to fixed-term imprisonment of not less than 3 and not more than 10 years. They can concurrently be sentenced to have their property confiscated." Article 119 stipulates: "State functionaries who take advantage of their positions to engage in smuggling, speculating and profiteering will be severely punished."

B. It is necessary to clearly distinguish between guilty and not guilty as prescribed by the criminal law. Generally speaking, in applying the criminal law to combat acts against the socialist economic order, it is very important for us to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation between guilty and not guilty as well as between right and wrong. Only thus can we carry out this struggle with more effective results.

C. It is necessary to pay attention to applying the criminal law in the struggle against crimes sabotaging the socialist economic order.

In short, maintaining the socialist economic order and applying the criminal law in the struggle to combat acts against the socialist economic order represents an important aspect of our class struggle in the economic field. Therefore, we must correctly use the criminal law as a sharp weapon to combat any criminal act against the socialist economic order so as to ensure the smooth realization of the four modernizations.

PARTY AND STATE

ISSUES ON NATURE, OBJECTIVITY OF LAWS DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese 25 Jan, 25 Feb 79

[Article by Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678]: "Some Questions on the Objectivity of Law"]

[No 1, 25 Jan 79, pp 7-19]

[Excerpts] In 1953, after studying Comrade Stalin's, "Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," I thought about problems of the objectivity of economic law, strongly feeling that Stalin's raising and straightforwardly answering these questions, and his criticism of the numerous muddled-headed ideas of Soviet economists of the time, possessed truly important theoretical and practical significance. At that time I wrote an article titled, "Two Problems About Laws," which was published in XUEXI [STUDY] magazine. Later, during 1956 and 1957, when engaged in the study of the socialist part of political economies, I discovered in the course of the work that even following publication of this work of Stalin's a formulation that directly conflicts with correct understanding of the objective character of economic law is still current in the study and teaching of economies, both in the USSR and in our own country, and even in ordinary discussions of existing economic problems. The considerable interference these formulations cause in the correct perception of the laws of economic activity under a socialist system have made me realize more and more the need for further elaboration of this problem. Consequently, during those 2 years and later on, in 1959, I again discussed these problems in "Some Problems on the Objective Nature of Economic Laws," and in several articles that discussed the laws of planned development of a socialist economy and the role of laws of value under the socialist system.

Twenty years have passed since those articles were written. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and during the course of the struggle to unmask the gang of four, I frequently returned anew to this problem, because the reason various fallacies of the "gang of four" captivated some people relates to the inability of those people to perceive correctly the objective nature of economic laws. I felt that the articles on these problems should be published and discussed today, so I hunted up the old articles and read them anew. I

now feel that my thoughts on these problems are fundamentally the same today as formerly, with little that is new to be added. Of course, I want to use some fresh language now and make some additions and revisions to the imperfect exposition of that earlier time.

1. What Are Laws?

In his "Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," Stalin defined economic laws clearly and to the point--a reflection in men's minds of the laws of an objective process that cannot be changed by human will.

What is the inexorableness of an objective process?

The phenomena of the objective world are inexhaustible. Their variation is boundless. But this is not to say that there are only dissimilarities among phenomena (i.e., that there are only some individual and special things that distinguish one phenomenon from another), and no similarities (i.e., something common and universal to all phenomena). Quite the contrary. Both specific parts of the phenomena of the objective world and the totality of the objective world share certain things in common.

Take, as an example, changes in the positions of things on the earth. Though changes may be only one part of the phenomena of the objective world, their variations are boundless, too. For example, take the falling of a dead leaf, the flowing of water in a river, the flight of birds, the firing of an artillery shell. The results of studies in mechanics prove that a commonality and a universality exist in all these phenomena. For example, in the change in position of each of these objects, the attraction of the earth (the totality of all substances on the surface of and within the earth) on objects plays a role. The role of the earth's gravity in attracting objects is revealed not only in certain phenomena such as the falling of a dead leaf or the flow of water in a river from a high to a low place, and is revealed not only in the variation in position that things make in response to gravity, but is also revealed in certain other phenomena such as the flight of birds through the air, and the movement upward of an artillery shell after firing in deviation away from the pull of gravity. Just a little thought will show that the reason objects manifest a position variation that deviates from the direction of gravity is attributable to other dynamic functions that are at work. When these other dynamic functions disappear, the object still has to follow the force of gravity and plummet to the surface of the earth. Attraction by the earth's gravity is the single most common and universal thing affecting variations in position of every object on earth. This commonality and universality is an objective law that regulates changes in position of objects on the earth.

The "things common to all phenomena" and the "things in phenomena that are stable (or enduring)" are, in essence, identical in that every phenomenon possesses throughout the process of its development and change, an element

that remains relatively stable, and it is this element that is common to all continuously developing individual phenomena. That a commonality exists in all phenomena, and that a stability exists in the midst of changes, is a link among all objects and all phenomena of the objective world. That a commonality exists in all phenomena demonstrates that the objective world is a systematic, orderly, integrated, and coherent whole, and that each phenomenon is one part of that coherent world. That a stabilizing elements exists in the midst of all change demonstrates that the development of history is continuous, and that each phenomenon is a link in the history of the totality of nature. Thus, "laws are relationships" (Lenin).

To summarize the foregoing, the law in the objective process is the common, the universal, and relatively stable, and the enduring element of phenomena in the objective world; it is the innate relationship among phenomena of the objective world, and the inevitability in their development and change.

In his, "Economic Problems in the Economy of the Soviet Union," Stalin differentiated two different concepts: one was the "law of the objective process," and the other was scientific law. It was the latter that was referred to above as the reflection in men's minds of the laws of an objective process. The theory of knowledge of the dialectic materialists is "the active revolutionary theory of reflection" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 625). Dialectic materialists believe that knowledge is an active process of motion, and that it is an incessant cognitive motion that advances toward the breadth and depth of the objective world. The role of the objective world on man's sense organs, "arouses their feelings, and in their brains gives birth to numerous impressions, as well as to a general external relationship among these impressions, which is the first stage of cognition." The continuation of social practice arouses repeated feelings and impressions of things that give rise in people's brains to a sudden change (or leap) in cognition that brings about ideas. Ideas are not phenomena of things, are not individual sides of things, and are not the external relationships of things, but repositories of the innate character of things, the totality of things, and the internal relationships of things. Ideas and feelings differ quantitatively and qualitatively. Proceeding along this line, through the use of judgment and reasoning, a logical conclusion can be reached. It is the judgment and reasoning stage of this concept that is the most important stage in the process of gaining a total understanding of a thing; it is the stage of rational understanding. The real task in understanding is to go from feelings to thoughts, and to attain and gradually to comprehend the internal contradictions of an objective thing, to understand its laws, to understand the internal relationships between this process and that process and to arrive at a theoretical understanding" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, pp 262-263). Scientific laws are one stage in man's reflection of the objective world. During this stage, the laws of the objective process go through people's complex comprehension movements, i.e. from isolated understanding of individual phenomena to a perception through observation

of the relationships in things and the commonality and universality of phenomena, and from a superficial understanding of phenomena to a gradually deepening perception of the not-so-apparent essences of phenomena. This causes a discovery within the brain that is perfected with time.

2. The Objective Nature of Laws and the Extent to Which Man's Will Plays a Role.

The objective nature of the laws about which we are talking here are laws that cannot be changed by men's wills, consciousness, or desires.

Now that we have clarified just what laws are, no doubts should exist at all about their objective nature, whether laws developed by nature or laws developed by society. In the process of developing dialectic materialism and the materialist view of history, Marx and Engels fully expounded this point. Marxists rely on these materialist points of view in setting their revolutionary strategy, tactics, and all their actions. Throughout his life, Marx devoted utmost energy to the study of the economic laws of capitalism, writing them down in "Das Kapital." What Marx strove to accomplish is only one thing. He also undertook precise scientific study to prove the inevitability of the order in certain social relationships, pointing out at the same time as completely as possible the facts from which they proceed and on which they are based. For the attainment of this goal, he had only to prove the inevitability of the existing order and simultaneously that this order must unavoidably have a transition to the inevitability of another order, regardless of whether people believe in or do not believe in, or are conscious or not, of this transition ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2, p 216).¹ In the maintenance of the objective nature of laws, Marx himself was a shining example for all materialists.

When I said here that human will can play a role in the process of the development of the objective world, my meaning was that human will can play a role no matter whether directed toward natural processes or toward social processes. For example, heredity and mutations of living things are processes of the natural world, but man can use artificial means to control heredity and mutations so as to develop certain desirable mutants. He can do this to such an extent that nowadays a branch of science known as genetic engineering is developing. But we must point out that numerous processes exist in the natural world--in the fields of astronomy and geology, for instance--where human will can play no role or have any influence either today or in

¹ This paragraph was written by a contemporary of Marx, Kaufman of Petrograd University, in a critique of "Das Kapital." Marx observed that "this author, in calling him a creature of my practical method, had made such an apt description" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 2, p 217) and in "Das Kapital," postscript quotation in vol 1, Second Edition. In his "What Is a Friend of the People"? Lenin also quoted this critic's words.

the future. Given the physiology and life span of humans, they will never be able to leave the solar system to go to a celestial body outside the solar system because they cannot overcome the difficulties of traveling over distances measured in light years. In terms of man's capacity to control, the extent of his impact on nature is extremely limited. Nevertheless, man still has some capacity to use his will in natural processes and on natural forces to produce some effect. As for the impact man's will can cause on society, that is much greater inasmuch as social processes are, as was said above, processes caused by human acts, consciously, with objectives, and through will. But even in the social process, objective laws exist that are not subject to the will of men. The role that man's will plays is still within the sphere where laws function, or may be said to rely on the role of law to function. Those circumstances in which man plays a role in social processes are totally identical with those circumstances in which man can play a role in the will of others as part of a natural process. This is because acts of human will enter into natural processes or social processes, making the results of the role of objective law or the development of objective processes not entirely the same as if there had been no such acts of will.

From the words of Engels and Lenin we can glean the following points:

1. That acts of human will can, in practice, attain one's own definite objectives is not the result of changes in the laws themselves or a negation of the objective nature of the laws but the result of understanding the objective laws and taking actions appropriate to make the outcome of the role of the law accord with anticipated objectives.
2. Only by interpreting freedom as gaining knowledge of necessity can it be said the freedom of will is achieved, and in that sense the interpretation is correct. We are aware that once a person understands the objective law, he can, if other necessary conditions are present, correctly make decisions that can, in practice, attain his own objectives. Under such circumstances a person may feel that the decision resulted from the action of his own will and that he can attain his objectives, or he may feel as though he is not controlled by any other forces or fettered by anything, and thus feel his own will is free. The facts are not so. He is still subject to the control of objective laws and fettered by the functioning of objective laws.

If a person does not understand objective law, he has only two avenues open before him. One is arbitrary and rash action. In this situation, though he may seem to make a free decision, he will surely run into a stone wall and end in failure. On this point Lenin made a fine observation: "The reason that man's will and man's practices obstruct the attainment of his objectives is that his will separates him from understanding, and he does not realize that outside reality is something that really exists (is objective truth). Understanding and practice must be combined" ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 39, p 232-233). If the objective nature of law is disregarded and reliance placed only on subjective desires and subjective illusions as a basis for action, then the more determined and the more intense one's will to realize

one's objectives, the greater will be the failure in action. Another avenue is vacillation. In this situation, a person seems to go first this way and then that way with extreme "free" will when, in fact, he is mired in a totally passive situation resulting from not knowing what to do, and lacks freedom of any kind. Objective laws still play their role, but under these circumstances a person is powerless in the process of developments and the role of his will is smaller and less free.

3. That a person gains understanding of inevitability and thereby gains freedom of will is itself an outgrowth of history. This is because man's understanding of laws is a historical process. Man's understanding of the laws of nature in production are like this. For example, before man had any understanding of the laws of electricity, he had no freedom in the face of this force of nature, but as a result of gaining this knowledge in the course of history, man became able to create generators and electrically operated machines, thus gaining freedom. The same may be said about an understanding of social laws. It was not until the history of mankind had developed into the 19th century that Marxism appeared. Up until that time, men possessed some knowledge of social laws from which they gained some freedom on individual and partial problems. But it was only afterward that man was able to have a thorough and complete understanding of social laws. It was through Marx' and Engels' understanding of the laws of social development of capitalism that it became possible to adopt a correct revolutionary line to carry out socialist revolutions and thereby gain freedom.

4. No matter how much mankind's understanding of objective laws deepened as knowledge advanced generation after generation, at any given time there was always an inevitable realm that mankind did not understand, and so the freedom that people gained was always relative. Of course, free will does not mean that man can attain his objectives as he pleases without regard to the constraints of historical conditions. The correct perception of freedom derived from Marxism clearly explains this point. For example, in carrying out revolution, society possesses revolutionary forces and counterrevolutionary forces and frequently it is the counterrevolutionary forces that are stronger. We can only know inevitability, know the laws, and not know everything. For example, during war we cannot totally grasp the enemy's situation because the enemy always bans news, but in warfare one cannot delay action until he knows and understands everything. Thus, even if our knowledge of objective law is totally correct, we may not entirely avoid failure. Yet by knowing the laws, we can foresee the various situations that might arise and take action to avoid failure, particularly great failure. Even if some defeats are unavoidable, we may be able to gain the final victory. Thus, we can still say we have gained freedom.

5. Not only can laws not be changed by men's will, they are determinants of men's will. For example, in a capitalist society the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are two classes in opposition to each other in the capitalist production system. The laws of capitalist production activity require the

capitalists to adopt both absolute and relative surplus value methods to increase the rate of surplus value, and to intensify the oppression of the proletariat in order to bring about capital accumulation, resulting in the pauperization of the proletariat. The interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie stand in opposition and their class wills also stand in opposition. Those who belong to either of these two classes, whether proletariat or bourgeoisie, also possess different individual wills. Traitors to their class may exist in both classes, but concrete reasons also exist for such traitors and these reasons also follow objective laws. In this sense, no such thing as free will exists but only predetermined will, though this "predetermination" should not be just mechanically understood.

3. Vacillation About the Objective Nature of Laws as They Relate to Problems in Socialist Economy and the Criticism of Marxism About Such Ideological Tendencies

Those who have studied Marxism accept, of course, the objective character of laws, and no serious disputes have arisen about this in the Marxist camp for a very long period of time.

But in the socialist society that began building following victory in the proletarian revolution, when the means of production became the common property of the whole society, when the working people became masters in their own house, when the welfare of the exploiters and the exploited no longer stood in opposition, and when society was no longer split by private individual ownership, Marxism, this science which is able to reflect correctly the laws of social development, became men's guiding ideology. This society possessed a powerful leadership nucleus, was armed with Marxism, and had a leadership group with a deep grasp of the laws of social development (the Communist Party), and the entire society was strictly and almost all-encompassingly organized. In consequence of all this, the will of the proletariat and its political party began to play an extremely important role in the development of the whole society and the role of subjective activity in the relationship between people and the objective world also was greater. In the history of mankind this was deserving of a special large volume of its own. Engels said in his "Dialectics of Nature" and in his "Anti-Duehring" that socialism is the "conscious social production organization that is able to produce and distribute according to plans," and that once such a society is reached, mankind will then have developed to "a new period in history" in which, once society recognizes the nature of social forces in the same way that it recognized the power of production forces, it will be able to handle society on this basis and make it obey its will. These circumstances would be vastly different from any former stages of development of human society. It is precisely this development in human history that has produced a distorted reflection in the brains of some people. There are some Marxists who believe beyond doubt that before the victory of the proletarian revolution society followed objective laws of development on which human will could effect no change. But now, under these new historical conditions, they have

begun to waver about the objectivity of laws as universally applicable principles, and this has given rise to ideas that deny the objectivity of socialist economic laws. They suppose that under the conditions of socialism laws impervious to change by human will have ceased to exist in governing the objective processes of social economic development, and they suppose that in a socialist system people can "promulgate," "create," and "change" objective economic laws. This is a resurrection of the views of historical idealism under new historical conditions. Such views were very clearly revealed in the early 1950s when the not yet final versions of textbooks on political economics were being discussed in the Soviet Union. Stalin was keenly aware of this important question, and in the opening of his "Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," he emphasized questions of the nature of economic laws in a socialist system, giving prominence to these problems. He criticized the erroneous ideas narrated above and rejected the so-called arguments that Soviet economists of that time put forward. Stalin pointed out that some Soviet economists of that time denied the objective nature of scientific laws, particularly denying the objective nature of the laws of political economy under a socialist system, and denied that the laws of political economy reflect the laws of a process that is not subject to change by the will of men. They argued that "inasmuch as history has bestowed a special role on the Soviet state, the leaders of the Soviet state can abolish existing laws of political economy and can "promulgate" new laws and "create" new laws ("Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," p 1).

Stalin used the following argument to refute such a point of view: The political power of the Soviet Union rests on a law that says production relations must be suited to production forces, and it rests on the public ownership of the means of production that was established in Russia by an alliance of the majority of the population in the working class and the peasants, the abolition of the system of exploitation, and the creation of socialist economic forms. It does not result from the abolition of any existing economic laws or the "promulgation" of any new economic laws ("Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," p 5). As regards Stalin's refutation, had the Soviet economists of that time pointed to the ability of Soviet state power to abolish exploitation and to create on "bare ground" socialist economic forms, going on to deduce therefrom that Soviet state power should also, therefore, be able to abolish old laws and create new laws, I believe they would have succeeded only in bolstering the argument that men can only rely on economic laws such as the need that economic relationships be suited to production forces and that one's own revolutionary actions can abolish existing forms and create new economic forms, but cannot directly abolish any economic laws or create any economic laws. The only economic forms can only follow after those economic forms that have been established and appeared on the stage of history or that are abolished and leave the stage of history. They are not something that can be directly abolished or created.

We said above that under any social system men's will can affect the process of social production and social development. The problem is that the

form of the role that men's will plays under various systems is not the same. In societies ruled by an exploiting class, what benefits the exploiting class and what benefits the exploited class, and the wills of both, are in direct opposition. At the same time, however, even among workers themselves, where there are some private property holders (such as farmers or handicraftsmen) and where some have no property, their welfare will differ in some respects. From the standpoint of the means of production, those who possess no property whatever compete to sell their labor in the marketplace.

In such a society, it is impossible, of course, to speak of a common will of the entire society. The effects of the will of each class and of each individual are canceled out by mutual opposition and mutual confrontation. Once the revolution of the proletariat achieved victory and established a dictatorship of the proletariat, such conditions in the old society underwent great change. The will of the proletariat class, which had now become the ruling class, could bring great influence to bear on the life of the society and the development of the society, but the confrontation between the residual strength of the exploiting class and the laboring class which was now master of the society continued to endure for a long time. The clash of wills between the exploiters and the workers produced great disruption and destruction. The position and the role of the workers in the production of the society has not remained the same. They have a common welfare and each one has his own special welfare and his own special will. Further, even for those workers with the same social status, "each hopes to attain the personal or external economic conditions (whether for himself individually or for the society in general) for which he yearns" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 27, p 462). Because of this, a conflict may result in their welfares and wills. Therefore, even though such a society possesses the coherent ideology of Marxism for use in instructing members of society so as to strive to unify the thoughts and actions of all who are capable of receiving this instruction, and though a leadership nucleus like the Communist Party and all sorts of social organizations coordinate the welfare and the conflicts of these people so that these conflicts will not result in confrontations (and we must fully consider the importance of this point), and to make it possible for the society to move in its desired direction armed with the conscious strength of Marxism, still it is as impossible as ever to instill a unified will in the entire society. Under the communist system, even in the highest stage of communism, it will not be possible for society to possess a united will, inasmuch as conflicts universally exist between people in any society. Thus, in socialist societies, as in the former societies ruled by the exploiting class, though differences exist, historical development still cannot be completely controlled by unified will.

Since society has no unified will, how do the various wills that exist come about, how do contradictions develop, how can these contradictions be resolved, and how can society, in the midst of contradictions among various wills, develop objective laws? No matter how different the concrete circumstances of the parallelograms of power in different societies, the laws of

the parallelograms of power still play a role; therefore, the development of societies is controlled by objective laws.

We are aware that in all socialist production there exist numerous economic laws, one among which Stalin terms a basic economic law of socialism. The law of the objective process that this law reflects is the fact that in a socialist system, if the goal in maintaining social production is to satisfy the ordinary needs of society for increased amounts of goods and culture and to continuously develop production methods on a foundation of high technology in order to attain these goals, then socialist production will go up and the socialist economic system will be strengthened and developed. If this goal of socialist production is forgotten and production becomes an end in itself, with improvement in the livelihood of the people being ignored, production being done purely for production's sake, purely to accumulate or purely for profit, the results will be, first of all, that the people will not gain the satisfaction they require, while socialist production will also be damaged, with undesirable consequences for the consolidation and development of the socialist system. These laws are not changed by the will of men. Men may adopt this or that policy or this or that course of action in the relationship between production and consumption, but they cannot change the laws of the objective process that we talked about above. We have not touched upon questions of what disturbances take place in the social will; therefore, even if it is supposed that there is only one uniform will under socialism, and that it is undisturbed or undamaged by other wills, that would still not change the objective character of the basic economic laws of socialism.

Those who openly deny the objective nature of socialist economic laws have been silenced, it seems, ever since Stalin criticized the Soviet economists of his time. But there still exists a denial of the objective nature of socialist economic laws as an ideological trend. In our own country there is such an ideological trend that is hard to ignore. Some people feel that if it is the will of senior officials, the will of the government, or the will of the party, anything can be done. At most, all that is necessary is to put the force that impedes this will into a state of powerlessness; then things can be done without any need for study, for consideration, or for abiding by the objective laws of socialist economics. Ever since the establishment of the People's Republic, some people have made the subjective mistake of not observing the objective nature of economic laws, with the only difference being that sometimes many people made this mistake while at other times only a few made it, or sometimes the circumstances of this mistake were serious and other times less so. As for the counterrevolutionary elements, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" their problems were not of the order of the problem of mistakes among the people, but that they used counterrevolutionary tactics and propagandized this kind of idealistic point of view to poison the thoughts of people.

Many people were influenced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and developed this kind of tendency in their ideology, overlooking the objective character

of socialist economic laws and severely damaging our national socialist construction enterprises. But this sort of ideological tendency has an even deeper social origin (witness the continued considerable strength of the small business mentality in our country), and an origin in the theory of knowledge. Long-term and arduous ideological education work must be done on this problem.

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[Excerpts] 5. Results of the Operation of Law Under Different Conditions.

We said in the foregoing that even though laws possess an objective character, man is actually powerless to influence the processes of astronomy, geology, and other similar processes, despite his ability to comprehend their laws of development. In other processes, however, once man discovers their laws and understands them, he can rely on these laws and use them to adopt proper courses of action in order to attain his goals. It is with these facts in mind that we now raise some questions. Since laws, including economic laws, possess an objective character, how then can human will affect the processes of development of the objective world, particularly social production and the processes of the development of society? Why should people use these laws, and how can they use them? In order to discuss these questions lucidly, I intend first to discuss this question: why should the results of the operation of the same laws be different under different circumstances?

Stalin, in his book, "Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," discussed the following viewpoint: the laws of economics and the laws of natural science are totally identical in that they both reflect objective laws that are not subject to change by human will, and in that they both possess an objective character. "The distinguishing feature of political economics is: its laws and natural laws are not the same, since the laws of political economics are not enduring. The laws of political economics, at least most of them, operate in a particular historical period, only to give way to new laws. But the original laws are in no way abolished; they simply lose their applicability as a result of the appearance of new economic conditions. They withdraw from the stage to yield their positions to new laws. These new laws are in no way created by the will of men, but are produced on the foundations of new economic conditions" ("Problems of the Socialist Economy of the Soviet Union," p 3). The significance of this statement by Stalin is that all objective laws follow the laws of the motion of matter, the laws of change, and the laws of development. When this "specific matter" no longer exists at a time or a place, these laws no longer function. The natural world is that way and so is society. Inasmuch as things in the social domain make their appearance in the wake of the development of the history of mankind, it is particularly apropos that they should also disappear in the wake of the development of human history. Consequently, an objective law that is linked to a given social relationship must appear on the stage of history whenever that social relationship appears on the stage of history, and leave the stage of history whenever that social relationship leaves the

stage of history. Laws cannot be created or abolished; they can only appear on, or leave, the stage of history. Stalin's selection of the term, "leave the stage of history," was done after careful reflection. For example, in primitive society, production relationships existed in the history of Western Europe. At that time the economic laws of primitive societies functioned. Today, the production relationships of primitive society no longer exist there, so the economic laws of primitive society have also left the stage of history inasmuch as they have no role to play in the economic life of the Europe of today. Of course, inasmuch as the economic laws of primitive society operated there historically, they have left definite traces and imprints on the social life of Europe today, and such laws are always objects for historical research.

Here I want to add to the remarks of Stalin. Stalin said that the laws of natural science are long enduring, but the laws of economics, at least most of them, operate only during a definite historical period. I feel that this sentence can be interpreted only in this way: some of the laws of natural science are laws of matter that exist eternally in various forms.

In the foregoing it was said that laws are not the same as phenomena. Objective laws are only universal things, the things that are stable and enduring despite development and changes in motion, inherent things, and inexorable things within the phenomena of the world. Further, the totality of the phenomena of the objective world consists of things of every description and some almost beyond description, things in constant change, transient things, and accidental things. Phenomena are vastly more rich and varied than the laws that regulate them. The law of universal gravitation and the laws of fluid dynamics are objective laws that are not subject to the will of men, but how water in a river will flow may vary in many, many ways. When a river floods its banks, the destruction of houses and crops is caused by the flowing of the flood waters. If dikes and dams are kept in good repair at the proper places and if hydropower stations and ditches are constructed, the flow of the water can be used as energy and to irrigate the fields. These are different kinds of phenomena resulting from these laws. The laws of value are the objective laws of commodity production, but the phenomena produced by the laws of value may be many and varied. In our country, the phenomena produced by the operation of identical laws of value may be the destruction of the planned economy or they may advance the development of national economic planning. Laws are only "intrinsic phenomena" ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 38, p 159). Only when put together with extrinsic phenomena does the totality of the world of phenomena result.

Everybody knows that it is a law of political economics that production relations must match the character of the development of production forces. This law reflects the innate relationship between production forces and production relationships, and it also objectively reflects the tendency of development in social production because the innate relationships of objective things determine the tendency of development of those things. Production

Production forces and production relationships are two aspects of production. These two aspects are dialectically linked together as part of a whole. They function in tandem. Production forces are determinants of production relationships, and production relationships produce a definite counteraction on production forces. We know that in a situation of identical levels of production forces, production relationships can vary widely. For example, under identical conditions of large-scale production as a social undertaking, there can be either a capitalist society or a socialist society. But under conditions of identical levels of production forces, disparate production relationships differ in whether they are suited or not to the development of production forces. Production relationships suited to the development of production forces serve the function of advancing production forces. Those unsuited serve to impede the development of production. Additionally, there is an inevitable tendency in the development of human history. At the outset, newly-formed production relationships serve to advance the production forces of that time, but once changes occur in production forces and they begin to advance, the original compatibility of the production relationships exists no longer, and then these production relationships impede the development of production forces. At such time, the effects of the unsuitability of these production relationships for the needs of the development of production forces becomes manifest.

For example, prolonged economic crisis with protracted economic stagnation or depression will bring about the bankruptcy of some capitalists, and other capitalists will use this crisis to take over still other capitalists, thus precipitating the impoverishment of the workers. These circumstances will be reflected in the minds of people, and then society will place all sorts of demands for change in the power of the original production relationships. After these forces have gone through a long period of struggle and have experienced ever increasing tortuousness of success and failure, final victory will go to those who blocked those opposed to changes in the original power of production relationships, and then production relationships will again become matched with production forces. Thus, a law is the same and unchanging under different conditions.

We also want to point out that under different conditions the results of the operation of this law in a certain period of time can be very different. In a situation of economic development within a bourgeois imperialist country, for example, achievements or breakthroughs in science and technology, changes in world trade or money markets, or changes in the world political situation can force production relationships to match the character of the development of production forces, with many and varied consequences ensuing from the operation of this law. Take, for example, the situation after World War II, when the victorious nations would not permit the rearmament of Japan. This enabled the Japanese capitalists to use rather large sums of capital for the development of civilian production. Then, when the United States waged wars of aggression in Korea and Vietnam, this provided, for a time, a very large market for the development of the Japanese economy, and provided advanced technology from the United States and Europe for introduction into

Japan. Under these circumstances, the trend toward the rapid development of production in Japan during those years exceeded the trend toward the stagnation and decadence, with consequent rather rapid development of production there. Meanwhile, in England and in the United States, owing to the operation of another set of circumstances, the tendency toward stagnation and decadence was revealed with special clarity.

The consequences of the operation of the same laws under different conditions take the forms they assume because of the outgrowths of other economic laws pertaining to these conditions that are operating at the same time. Study of the different results that derive from the same laws operating under different conditions is the most important problem economists face.

6. How Man's Initiative Is Produced in the Face of Objective Laws.

Now that we understand that the operation of objective laws under different conditions can produce different results, discussion of the question of how man's initiative is produced in the face of objective laws will require only clarification of how man can change the existing forms of material things.

Let us first take as an example the contacts of man with nature, and let us first answer the question of just why man is able to transform the existing shape of material things in nature. This question is a question of the mutual operation of man and nature. The changes man makes in the form of material things are not the same as the changes that would take place in nature if man had nothing to do with them. In the process of change in the existing form of objective material, man and nature become the unity of opposites. Man is one opposite, and the material things of nature are the other opposite. In the midst of these opposites, man is also a material thing in nature differing only in that he possesses intelligence and is a thinking being.

As men go forth to change the existing form of material things in nature, it is this intelligence and ability to think that conducts purposeful activity against other things in nature. In the conflict between man and nature, it is man who is the protagonist. In these activities man calls upon the powers stored within his own body and consciously causes changes in nature according to his own goals. For example, long ago, at the beginning of the history of mankind, man could use his physical strength to kill a wild animal or collect from the land those plants useful to the satisfaction of his needs. At that time, man was causing certain changes in the natural world in pursuance of his own goals. Here I want to point out that for man to change the existing forms of things, the prerequisite is that man himself must be a kind of material force. If man is not a material force, or if he is a material force who does not use this material force, he has not the slightest possibility of changing the form of material in nature. The existing forms of material in nature can be changed only by material forces. Even in highly automated production, if man does not use his own material force to control the automated equipment, there will be no production. This is to say that if used only to a button, the force of a man's finger is still a necessity. If man were

devoid of physical strength, he could do nothing whatever to the natural world.* The fundamental reason human physical strength will always be a "sine qua non" in production by human societies lies here.

But it is not nearly enough for man to rely solely on the material strength of his own body or to rely on the natural strength stored within his body to change material things. He must also draw on other material means. This is to say that he must master or control other material means. In production, these material means are the instruments of labor.

The above discusses the problem of transforming nature. In the transformation of society, the principles are the same. The so-called material being of society means the social relationships between people, which are inter-related with and founded upon materials in nature. This material being of society can be changed. For example, through revolution we can destroy the system of capitalist ownership of the means of production and build a socialist system of ownership of the means of production. Material force is also required to change the social relationships between people, which are inter-related with and founded on materials in the world of nature.

Let us take the proletarian revolution as an example. It is the rule of the bourgeoisie that the proletariat wants to overthrow, but the rule of the bourgeoisie depends upon control by the bourgeoisie of the material strength on which it is founded. The material strength on which the bourgeoisie draws is, first of all, the means of production and the means of livelihood controlled by the bourgeoisie. This is the material power of the bourgeoisie that economically exploits the people. On the foundation of production, through the means of production and the means of livelihood, which are in the hands of the bourgeoisie, they also control military material forces and material forces such as the police and prisons. These are the material forces of the

*Nowadays, some people imagine that it will be possible in the future to use electrical impulses from the human brain to drive various production implements. This is like saying that if some people agree to do something in the future, all that will be necessary is that they think about it in a certain way and then the brain will generate a certain impulse, which will go through the equipment and pass along to a certain control device to drive the production implement, i.e., to serve as an electric pushbutton. We do not intend to criticize this fantasy here for its lack of a scientific basis, but let us go one step backward and suppose that such a circumstance has come about. We believe that there would still be no change in our conclusions about the need to use the biological material strength from within man to drive the production implement because this electrical impulse from the brain would still come from the material that is a human body.

bourgeoisie for the political oppression of the working people. They also possess the material strength of printing and publishing as well as places of assembly. These are the material forces the bourgeoisie use to control public opinion, conduct propaganda, and cheat and bamboozle the working people. The bourgeoisie consists of a certain number of people as well, and people are material strength. The number of capitalists in a capitalist system is rather small, but their capabilities are great because they are the ruling class. Furthermore, until revolutionary ideas universally permeate the broad masses, there will be a rather large number of people from other classes who are under the influence of capitalist ideology, including some workers of rather low class consciousness. The proletarian revolution seeks to smash and wrest control of the various material forces possessed by the bourgeoisie mentioned in the foregoing in order to strengthen their own material forces. How can the proletariat succeed in smashing and wresting control of the material forces possessed by the bourgeoisie? The proletariat owns none of the means of production, but the proletariat numbers in the multitudes, and, by comparison with the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is but a small handful. In terms of people alone, the material forces of the proletariat are greater than those of the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat is, from the outset, mired in division and possessed of a low degree of consciousness, which is to be mired in the situation of the so-called "complacent class." At this time the proletariat possesses scant material forces and lacks the power for a contest with the bourgeoisie. The course of history made the proletariat gradually become conscious, and following the development of science, the revolutionary theories of Marxism appeared in the world. As a result of the penetration of these theories into the minds of men, the proletariat became conscious and organized the revolutionary ranks of the proletariat. With this, the proletariat changed from a self-complacent class into a class for itself. In the midst of struggle, the consciousness and the organization of the proletariat were continuously raised and strengthened. The proletariat had its own vanguard organization--the Communist Party. The material strength that the proletariat possessed at this time was their own party and their own mass organizations. This was the strong material force that the proletariat drew on to carry out revolution. The proletariat with no weapons except organization, of which Lenin spoke, referred to the circumstances of the proletariat before they possessed political authority or their own military forces.

We can see in the practice of socialist economic construction various economic laws acting in concert. For example, when a plan is promulgated, there is an interplay of basic economic laws, national economic planned proportionate development laws, material welfare laws, laws of distribution according to work performed, laws of socialist regeneration, laws of the economization of work time, and the law of value. The form of interplay of these laws varies according to the form of social material relationships at a given time or place. During socialist construction, each important policy or measure produces this or that kind of material relationship in society. It goes without saying that the same is true for managing changes in the system. Even

action such as the change in pricing of some product is a change in the material relationships of society. The result of such changes is to cause a change in the form of interplay of all laws. Consequently, the results of the interplay of these laws are not the same as before the changes occurred. When man consciously uses economic laws, he foresees that certain changes may produce certain results, so after he makes these changes, the consequences of the interplay of the laws will match his needs.

To summarize the above: though laws possess an objective character, we are not fatalists. We believe that the relationship between man and the objective world absolutely is not a passive reflection of the objective world in perceptual terms, and it absolutely does not passively obey the demands of nature in practical terms. Man is an intelligent creature who can make and use tools. Man can engage in intelligent and purposeful activities, create all sorts of conditions to capitalize on scientific laws, and give play to his own subjective activities. As history develops, the role of these activities of man becomes greater and greater.

That some people have been powerless during the course of historical development is a law of the objective process that is not subject to human will. We must note at the same time that there have been people who have had complete power to act during the process of historical development. These have been people who could rely on their comprehension of the laws of the development process of the objective world and, through this reliance, create all sorts of conditions to thwart the destructiveness that subjective laws can bring so that the outcome of the operation of objective law would benefit society and the people.

Only on the basis of such study and the correct manipulation of the circumstances that arise from the operation of these objective laws under different conditions can situations be correctly created to attain desired results. In order to use the power of water to generate electricity and irrigate fields, we must possess a vast knowledge of fluid dynamics, engineering (including the construction of dams), and the principles and technologies of ditches. The most important point concerning what Stalin said about knowledge and its study for perfection in applying the laws is to study how objective laws operate under different conditions, and gain knowledge of how to create the conditions for the operation of these laws in light of desired goals.

10. How To Use Objective Laws Consciously

How to use objective laws consciously is a very complex question. Not only is the adept use of objective laws in actual practice an extremely complex question, but to explain the general philosophical principles relating to this question is also a rather complex topic.

Here there are several depth of meaning to be explained: First our goals must be examined to see whether they are obtainable through the development of objective processes, i.e., whether they are matters that can be accomplished with effort, or whether they are not at all capable of accomplishment according to objective laws. For example, the conversion of our country into a powerful socialist nation modernized in four ways is something that can be attained during this century through the development of objective processes, given the current levels of our national production, given the advantageous socialist system of our country, given the level of scientific and technological development in the world at present, and given the historical experiences of the advanced countries of the world in production. Consequently, this goal that we strive to realize can be attained. If, however, we should intend to transform our socialist construction into a society at an advanced stage of communism by the end of this century, that would be something unattainable through the development of objective processes. Thus, it should not become a goal for us to strive to realize. Should we have such an intention, we could only term it an unrealistic illusion. No matter what actions people take, the outcome of the operation of objective laws most decidedly will not conform to any unrealistic illusions. The operation of objective laws can attain only those results attainable through the development of objective processes. To set unattainable things as the goals of struggle will result not only in failure in the end, but also will cause very large losses in the process. We have learned some lessons about this way of doing things.

We are aware that there are some things that can never be attained through objective processes, e.g., should anyone imagine that he can pick himself up off the ground by pulling upward on this own hair; that would be absolutely impossible. The law of the equality of action and reaction in mechanics demonstrates this. Or take another example—for anyone to imagine that the production relationships of primitive society could be revived in this day and age of large-scale production as a social undertaking is also impossible. But there are some matters that are attainable in the development of objective processes, though to attain them at this stage, when not all necessary conditions have been prepared, would require a rather long period of time. One such matter is mentioned above: converting our national construction into a society at an advanced stage of communism during this century.

These two examples are quite evident, so they look very simple and require no further study. But in real life there are frequent instances in which something that simply cannot be done is regarded as something that can be done. Stirring up the communist wind is one such example. We know that at the present stage of socialism it is impossible to do things as they will be done in an advanced stage of communism. But quite a few people insist that this should be done, and constant occurrences of this kind have yet to be resolved completely. That occurrences such as this take place is related to an erroneous comprehension of just what things can be done at an advanced stage of communism. At the moment, for example, there is a notion prevalent

that the present form of distributing goods for the collective welfare is an element of communism. The element of communism they are talking about is, of course, an element of an advanced stage of communism and not an element of the communism common to both a low stage and an advanced stage of communism. If that is the kind of element that is meant, then distribution according to work performed is also such an element. We know that in an advanced stage of communism, where there is an extreme abundance of goods, distribution will be according to need. Today, when goods and materials are still in short supply, this principle cannot be applied.

To move one step further, if as a result of our examination we find that there are some rather concrete goals that may or may not be attained, the problem becomes even less simple. At this point, we should have not only a careful and precise understanding of the laws of objective processes, but also some careful and precise calculations about the subjective and objective conditions. Possessed of data about favorable and unfavorable objective conditions, we can try to find out just how much subjective power may be used to change nature and to change society. Objective conditions and objective laws are not the same things. If, for example, production in industry and agriculture is to be developed, fuel energy will be required. Unless the fuel energy problem can be solved, industrial and agricultural production cannot be raised. This is a problem pertaining to objective laws. But questions about the fuel energy resources we possess, the size of reserves of coal and petroleum, the conditions under which they are extracted, and the water power resources that are available pertain to the objective conditions. These we must certainly study carefully. Such study will take a lot of work. But at the same time, as we said above, the reason people can take dynamic action is, first of all, that man is himself a material force, and this material force can be expanded a hundred times, a thousand times, or continuously, because man can make tools of production and use them. Because of the revolution in the social system and its constant perfection, this material strength of man has been improved in organization and expanded many times over. But just how much permits no subjectivism. It is the same as in warfare, when one must not only know one's enemy, but know oneself as well.

At the same time, because of man's knowledge of the laws that develop through objective processes, his activities constantly advance and expand. Therefore, in assessing our subjective strength, this vitality must also be factored in. Unless we can make a sober and balanced calculation and assessment of our subjective strength, we will be unable to do well in our work of examining our goals.

Let us take production of material goods as an example. When we draw up a plan requiring that by such and such a year steel production reach so many tens of thousands of tons, we must first consider whether this goal is attainable in the objective course of events. This requires thought about how much iron ore, coke, and electric power will be needed to produce the steel. As to whether these things will be available requires, first of all, considering whether such natural resources exist. Second, these

things must also be produced, but will our production capacity be able to turn out sufficient iron ore, coke, and electric power? Thirds, to produce that much steel will require construction of factories, and it will require equipment and machinery as well. Not only will materials be required, but they will also have to be at hand by a certain time, and in the proper amounts. These calculations are very complex, but unless they are made, the goals we set may be unattainable in the objective course of events.

We should not set our goals too high, nor should we set them too low. If too high, they simply will be unachievable; if too low, and we are not taking full opportunity to achieve the goals that the objective course of events permits, that would also be wrong. Knowing just where to set the goals is, in itself, something requiring much knowledge. We must define importance in setting goals. Where a difference in importance exists, our requirements for the goals must also be different. A goal may be solely a final idea, that we set for ourselves, such as the final goal of We Marxists who have set an advanced stage of communism as our goal. Such a goal is correct only when it accords with the inevitable trend of the development of things. In setting such a goal, one need only have arrived clearly at the basic conditions for attainment of the goal, and then state forthrightly that this goal is something to be attained in the distant future. There is no need to set the goal concretely, nor to figure out concretely how much time will be required to attain it. A goal may also be a planning target, in which case our requirements will be different. Such a target is to be reached under specific conditions and within a fixed period of time. The organization of our forces and the shaping of conditions must begin with such a target, since unreliable calculations will cause work losses. In addition to these two kinds of goals, there are also other that bridge the two. In short, when goals vary in importance, how we prepare to use these plans to guide our methods of operation will also vary, and requirements in setting goals will also vary.

Second, the laws themselves that govern the objective course of events must be studied on the basis of historical practice and scientific testing to discover as yet undiscovered laws, as well as to perfect knowledge of those laws that have already been discovered. The world is boundless, not only in its breadth, but in its depth. We have learned some of the world's laws, but right before our eyes are many other scientific laws not yet discovered. So it is in the natural world, and so it is in the domain of the history of society. No matter how difficult the task of discovery of new scientific laws, this remains the primary task of scientific research. For example, in the process of our efforts to bring about the four modernizations, the study of socialist production and the laws of socialist development themselves possess extreme significance. Things are often very complex and especially so is the study of the extremely complicated problems of socialist production and the laws of the development of socialism. In order to attain good results, this study must be a long-term and arduous struggle to which an immense amount of labor is devoted. Before any country in the world had achieved victory in the socialist revolution, Marx and Engels

constructed their scientific theories of socialism on the basis of the objective laws of the development of bourgeois societies, and they cleverly foresaw socialist production, the many special characteristics of socialist society, and numerous objective laws. On the eve of the socialist revolution, Lenin, following study of the monopoly stage of capitalism, possessed a knowledge even more advanced than that of Marx and Engels about future socialist production and the laws governing the development of socialist society. Later, Lenin directly participated in and led the Russian October Revolution. Through the practice of socialist construction, his knowledge of socialist production and of the objective laws of the development of socialist society was built on a foundation of direct experience and thereby became vastly deeper and richer. The theories formulated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin before the October Revolution were put to practical testing after the October Revolution and proven correct. In the most than 30 years of practice that lay between the October Revolution and the Soviet switch to revisionism, the Soviet Union has accumulated a vast amount of factual and theoretical data about the study of socialist production and the laws of the development of socialist society. It has also accumulated a vast amount of direct and indirect experience. Before the nation-wide victory of the Chinese revolution, long experience in the building of revolutionary bases existed. This experience totaled 22 years if calculated from the Autumn Harvest Uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong, when warriors went into the Jinggang Mountains, up to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Almost 30 years have passed since revolutionary victory throughout our entire country brought establishment of the People's Republic of China. These 30 years of experience in the practice of socialist revolution and construction have also been extremely rich. In the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong there are numerous extremely important scientific expositions of socialist economic laws. Other socialist nations in the world have 20 or 30 years of history with many valuable experiences that can be provided for study. Despite the existence of such a long history of study of the laws of socialist development, it must be admitted that on problems of socialist production and the laws of socialist development, a very large realm of necessity lies right before our eyes. We are presently engaged in the modernization of socialist construction, to make of our land a socialist power modernized in four ways within the short space of some 20 years. In this process there are many new problems requiring study and many scientific laws that remain to be discovered and investigated. There are also many scientific laws that have been discovered already, but which await deeper study to improve our understanding of them. Strict scientific verification of these laws will make an understanding of them more precise and revise some erroneous or inaccurate understandings. Moreover, along with progress in our modernized socialist construction enterprises, new summarizations of many new historical experiences must also take place. The world is boundless, and our understanding of its objective laws is also boundless. That our study of the objective laws themselves is still inadequate is, of course, extremely detrimental to our use of the results of the operation of these laws in attainment of our objectives.

Third, we must study the different possible outcomes of the operation of objective laws when different measures are taken. Such research can provide us with various options from which to select. We will be able to select measures most suitable to the situation that provide results from the interplay of various laws, and the ones that will give us the best chance of attaining our desired goals. This is also a most complex and arduous project for study.

The first step in such a study is the identification of all possible measures that may be taken. Most frequently, such measures are not ready-made, but must be created through arduous study. While we are examining our objectives to see whether they are obtainable through application, and within the context, of the development of the objective course of events, if we make the examination only from the standpoint of objective laws, the realization of these goals will usually remain only an abstract possibility. For example, when Einstein discovered the objective law for the conversion of mass into energy, i.e., $E=MC^2$, the goal of nuclear explosions was only an abstract possibility. Making it an attainable goal necessitated finding the means to make the conversion. (In the foregoing, we placed the discovery and the invention of such means among the subjective conditions of our examination of objectives.) Given such conditions, the objectives are attainable. We have said here that we want to use laws in a conscious way and that we are determined to master all necessary methods to come up with the required means or measures. Take the production of chemicals as an example. These particular chemicals have always been produced by outmoded technological processes, using outmoded equipment. Now we plan to increase vastly the productivity of labor for these products by lowering the expenditure of embodied labor in some degree. This requires examination of our objectives to figure out whether this goal can be obtained, and all the objective laws bearing on the attainment of this goal must be clearly sorted out. This alone will not suffice, however. Additionally, a new production method will have to be found, perhaps a new economical technological process to produce the chemicals, or the designing of equipment to meet requirements that can economize on the expenditure of electricity. This is the way material goods are produced, and the same is true of production in the domain of social economics. Discoveries of effective means or measures are not accidental, or the result of sudden inspirations. They depend on the study of a wealth of practical experience, careful analysis, and experimentation under different conditions.

The second step, once we have at hand various means and methods for use, is to study each of them individually. Several of the better ones may be sifted from the mass, though it may not yet be possible to determine just which of these will be best suited. This step must be done with care and earnest study. If casual examination of two alternatives reveals that one of them simply will not do, the remaining one will not necessarily be any good, either. Only when both choices are roughly equal can the final choice be of real value. Once a choice from among several possible means or measures has been made, we must carefully analyze the results obtainable from them. By figuring,

estimating, and comparing, we can decide just which one of the several measures or means will truly be the best possible one. Such a study is not solely qualitative; it has to be quantitative as well. For example, in considering how to narrow the price differentials between industrial and agricultural goods, we must lay out all possible plans that can be adopted to raise the prices of agricultural products and lower the prices of industrial goods. Next, we must analyze each of these plans, calculate and estimate in order to figure out the effects that will follow from the adoption of each and every such plan on each and every person, every sector, the production in each region, exchanges of goods, distribution, and expenditures throughout the society, and we must also calculate the consequences for the entire national economy as well. Since the adoption of different measures and different courses of action produces different results because of the interplay of all sorts of laws, these studies must include complex theoretical questions and questions of methodology. Since these studies must also be quantitative questions involving scientific methods of computation must also be resolved.

Finally, inasmuch as the problem in the use of objective laws is the adoption of suitable means or measures so that the interplay of the operation of the various objective laws will attain desired objectives, our work must concern the study of three elements: objective laws, goals, and means, after which action may be taken. Action entails the use of material strength to change material conditions, with the guidance of specific ideas. It also entails good organization, consistent action, alacrity, effectiveness, learning from experience, and flexibility in meeting new situations. Moreover, it requires a summarization once the work is finished for the sake of future practice. The problem of the use of laws is a problem of practice that finds solution in practice and finds testing through practice.

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PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING JOURNAL EXPLAINS NEED FOR UNITY

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[Article by Wu Qiwen [0702 0796 2429]: "How To 'Grasp the Opposites in the Unity of Opposites'"]

[Text] What is meant by the correct handling of contradictions? Philosophically speaking, it means the correct handling of the relationship between unity and struggle to promote the development of things. What is meant by unity? And what is meant by struggle? From the viewpoint of a party who is involved in a contradiction and who is considering the question of handling his relationship with the other party to advance his own development, "unity" means the adoption of measures by one party of a contradiction to take advantage of (or rely on) the existence and development of the other party to advance his own development; and "struggle" means the adoption of necessary measures by one party of a contradiction to reject, repress or even destroy the existence and development of the other party to advance his own development. The final result of a contradiction movement is always the rejection, negation and "annexation" of one party by the other, so that there is a qualitative leap forward of things. But that occurs only from a qualitative change, particularly from the last stage of a qualitative change. Even in the case of a new thing negating an old thing, the new thing still adopts all the positive factors of the old thing beneficial to its development, instead of negating everything. In such case, there is some affirmation in the negation. Otherwise, the new thing will be no more superior than the old thing. In the course of a quantitative change, a thing develops only in the process of taking advantage of and negating its opposite either simultaneously or alternatively. Only by so doing can this process pave the way for a qualitative change. Just as pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong, "The interdependence of the contradictory aspects present in all things and the struggle between these aspects determine the life of all things and push their development forward." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol I, p 280)

The correct handling of unity and struggle between opposites is by no means an easy matter. Those who are familiar with dialectics used to say that

one should see not only opposition, but also unity; not only mutual negation, but also mutual dependence. It seems to them that if only one sees these points, then everything will fall into place. But in reality, after seeing these points the more important is how to correctly handle the relationships between the two. It is precisely this key point which has often been overlooked. From history it can be seen that this question bears tremendous significance to revolutionary practice. For instance, during the period of democratic revolution, Wang Ming failed to handle correctly the relationship between unity and struggle—he engaged in "all struggle, no coalition" at the beginning, followed by "all coalition, no struggle." During the period of socialism, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advanced their "struggle philosophy," permitting only struggle, not unity. They used the "struggle philosophy" to cover up their fake leftism and their counterrevolutionary character. They went all out to negate everything, reject everything, destroy everything, and make trouble everywhere to demonstrate their most revolutionary and militant "leftism." They based their action on the theory that "struggle leads to progress, and no-struggle leads to retrogression, collapse and revisionism." This counterrevolutionary viewpoint is based on two erroneous concepts: first, in theory it takes struggle as the one and only motive power for the development of things and, second, in practice it takes struggle as the one and only means to handle contradictions. This was an important theory used by "Left" opportunism to broaden class struggle and carry out excessive "reform" on a large scale.

How, then, should the two relationships of unity and struggle between opposites be correctly handled? Is there any law to follow in handling the mutual relationships of struggle and unity?

In his "Philosophical Notes," Lenin pointed out: "Dialectic thing = 'Grasp the opposites in the unity of opposites'" (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol 38, p 97). In other words, it is to grasp the struggle of the opposites in the unity of opposites. In handling many specific contradictions in the revolutionary struggle, Lenin provided us with some exemplary cases concerning how to grasp the struggle of the opposites in the unity of opposites. A study of the philosophical concept therein contained is of great current significance toward guiding us in the present movement to criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for their various reactionary words and deeds and in our effort to fulfill the great cause of realizing the four modernizations.

In this article I endeavor to expound the following two questions in theory with due reference to the practice of revolutionary struggle:
1. Why it is necessary to grasp the struggle of the opposites in the unity of opposites? 2. How to grasp the struggle of the opposites in the unity of opposites?

I

During the first 2 years after the October Revolution, a few people in Russia and other countries who called themselves "leftist Communists" were opposed on a series of questions to the line and tactics of Marxism

as instituted by Lenin, thereby producing a damaging influence on the Communist movement. Even though their manifestations differed, philosophically they shared common characteristics.

On this series of questions Lenin initiated an intense debate with the "leftist Communists": (1) Do we want to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk? (2) Do we want to utilize state capitalism? (3) Do we want to use a political party and its leaders to carry out the revolution? (4) Do we want to study the techniques and culture created by capitalist society? Do we want to trust intellectuals left over from capitalist society? (5) Should revolutionaries work in reactionary trade unions? (6) Should revolutionaries participate in parliaments? (7) Should we not make any compromises?

Regarding these questions, the "leftist Communists" maintained a fundamental philosophical position, which was to speak only of the struggle of opposites and not of the unity of opposites. They vainly shouted the most revolutionary of slogans, but basically they did not understand how properly to advance the revolutionary struggle. When Lenin was resolving these contradictions, he implemented the idea of grasping the struggle of opposites in the unity of opposites. Let us try analyzing one example in order to see the whole situation.

Whether or not to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk became, after the October Revolution, a serious point of debate within the Bolshevik Party. At that time, a few people calling themselves "leftist Communists" opposed Lenin's correct policy. Under circumstances in which Russia was utterly powerless to carry out a war against German imperialism, they did not take objective conditions into account, but insisted on the prosecution of a revolutionary war, opposed the signing of the treaty and wanted to drag the new Soviet regime into a suicidal conflict. Lenin pointed out, "This is one of the most serious threats Russia has encountered." Lenin could not but devote great energies in struggling against them.

The "leftists" saw only the [struggle of] opposites in the conclusion of a treaty between the Soviet regime and German imperialism. German imperialism required the Soviet regime to cede territory and remunerate funds; otherwise it would continue the war. The "leftists" opposed concluding such a treaty; they intended to forfeit the Soviet regime and battle recklessly against German imperialism.

Lenin saw the [struggle of] opposites as well as the unity [of opposites], the disadvantages of the treaty as well as the advantages. Lenin pointed out that he had no alternative but to sign the humiliating treaty: "Proletarians understand that when they have no power, they must submit. However, they know well how to husband their energies unrelentingly, under any conditions, in preparation for a renewed uprising." "Later we can throw out the treaty and resume the war" (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 3, pp 444, 471). Lenin repeatedly emphasized the extreme necessity of signing the treaty in order to gain respite. As he said, "To make peace is a means for gathering strength" (ibid., p 470). The stability

and expansion of the Soviet regime depended on gaining such respite, and so it was necessary to yield space in order to win time; for "a peace without cession of territory or remuneration of funds does not move a bandit's heart" (ibid., pp 490, 458).

Lenin summarized his thoughts on the political mistakes of the "leftists" in his essay on knowledge. He said: "Any truth, if it is 'overstated' (as Joseph Dietzgen pointed out) and magnified, so that it is applied outside the realm in which it actually can and should be used, becomes utterly absurd." "Members of the Communist Party must exhaust their whole strength to guide the workers' movement and the whole development of society along the straightest and fastest road towards the victory of the Soviet regime and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the entire world. This is an incontrovertible truth. However, if one goes but a small step farther--seemingly a small step in the same [correct] direction--this truth will turn into error" (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol 4, pp 217, 257).

At that time, there was no doubt that the Soviet regime had to struggle to resist the invasion of German imperialism. But under the concrete conditions of the time, they had to take advantage of the respite provided by the treaty to guide the struggle into organizing an armed defensive force, establishing a Red Army, healing the wounds of war and constructing a strong economic foundation to counter invasion. Since the treaty had provided the Soviet regime with an urgently needed respite, the struggle against German imperialism had to take non-opposition to the treaty as its limit. But the "leftists" wanted to go one step farther: they opposed the treaty and demanded the immediate prosecution of a revolutionary war. In fact, this surely would have helped German imperialism to destroy the Soviet regime. Although it would appear that this was a small step in the direction of countering invasion, the result would have been to turn truth into error.

In this same struggle with the "leftists" Lenin provided us with a shining example of grasping unity in struggle. Having confronted a variety of opposites in the proletarian revolution, and in the face of demands by the "leftists" for the unconditional rejection [of these opposites], Lenin pointed out that while it is necessary to see that there are benefits for the proletariat in opposites, it is also necessary to see the unity of these opposites. Expanding the cause of proletarian revolution depends on employing the beneficial factors in opposites, while, on the other hand, unconditional rejection of opposites is unbeneficial to expanding the cause of proletarian revolution. When criticizing the "leftists," Lenin clearly understood this dialectical viewpoint: in struggle, while one side may reject its opposite, the latter may be beneficial for the development of the former; this is where the limit of struggle lies. Under certain circumstances, a particular relationship of dependence between one side and its opposite in a contradiction binds and limits the struggle of opposites. Only with the unity of opposites is there

benefit to the development of things; the struggle of opposites should not destroy the unity of opposites. Thus, the unity of opposites constitutes a temporary, relative and conditional limit on the struggle of opposites. This is an objective law, unmoved by human intention, and an important component of the law of the unity of opposites; people may recognize it and utilize it, but they cannot divorce themselves from objective conditions and willfully rescind it. Of course, there are many different criteria for determining the limits of struggle; aside from unity, the power relationship existing between the two sides of a contradiction is also an important factor in determining the limits of struggle.

Comrade Mao Zedong inherited, defended and developed the tactical principles and philosophical thought included in Lenin's opposition to "left"-leaning errors, and also used extraordinarily refined and clear language to epitomize and summarize [such principles] in six characters, namely, the principles of "just grounds, advantage, and restraint, [youli, youli youjie, 2589 3810 2589 0448 2589 4634] which he instituted during the anti-Japanese war in the struggle against anti-Communist diehards. These he considered prerequisites for using the contradictions between the Anglo-American big bourgeoisie and Japanese imperialism to win over the Chiang Kai-shek clique remaining in the anti-Japanese camp. Later, he further pointed out that these principles apply likewise to the national bourgeoisie. It is clear that these are not only important tactical principles, but under conditions in which the unity of opposites is beneficial for the development of things, these are general philosophical principles for handling the mutual relationships existing between unity and struggle in contradictions. So long as in one side there exist factors beneficial for the development of the other side, we must use concretely the principles of "just grounds, advantage, and restraint" to handle contradictions.

Why is it necessary to grasp the struggle of opposites in the unity of opposites? If the relationship of dependence between both sides of a contradiction has no function at all in struggle, or has only a negative function, then it would be absolutely useless to take account of and grasp the unity of opposites; thus, according to the "struggle sutra [douzi jing, 7595 1316 4842] of the "gang of four," it was enough to struggle, struggle, struggle without any concern for consequences. But because unity has a restrictive function with respect to struggle and the function of determining limits, and because, under certain conditions, this restrictive function is beneficial for the development of things, we must honor this objective law--to grasp the struggle of opposites in the unity of opposites. If one does not take objective conditions into account, but willfully destroys necessary unity and exceeds the limits for struggle, this kind of struggle will not only be incapable of pushing ahead the development of things, it will obstruct the development of things.

When objective conditions are ripe, the original unity in a contradiction no longer is beneficial for the development of things; the expansion of the cause of proletarian revolution no longer needs to use its opposites but must eliminate its opposites. It is then that the struggle of opposites must break through the limits set by unity, to dissolve the old

unity and establish a new unity; things will make a qualitative leap and enter a new stage of development. For example, the Soviet regime used the respite provided by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to strengthen itself; when the power relationships generated a change, then they dispensed with the treaty. The protective policy which our country adopted in the stage of democratic revolution with respect to the industries and commerce of the national bourgeoisie changed, once the conditions became ripe, to a policy of adopting and renovating capitalist industry and commerce. Not to recognize that, when conditions are ripe, the struggle of opposites must break through the limits set by the unity of opposites is to make those limits on struggle permanent and absolute, and to deny the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution; this would be to commit the error of right-wing opportunism.

We must firmly maintain the Marxist viewpoint which unites the theory of uninterrupted revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development. Just as we must oppose the "leftist" error of not recognizing the limits of struggle, we must also oppose the rightist error of making the limits on struggle permanent and absolute.

In summary, the principal function of unity in contradictions (here referring to the relationship of mutual dependence between both sides of a contradiction) is to restrict struggle in the contradiction, that is, to set limits for struggle. As for how things maintain qualitatively their relative equilibrium, the intrinsic reason is the restrictive function of unity with respect to struggle. Under certain conditions, this restrictive function can promote a struggle of opposites and be beneficial for the development of things; under different conditions, the restrictive function of unity can obstruct the development of things. Hence, we say that the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and relative. The principal function of struggle in contradictions is to dissolve the unity of contradictions, to cause things to be transformed into their opposites. Under certain conditions, struggle has the function of stabilizing unity. And under conditions in which the unity of opposites is beneficial for the development of things, the struggle of opposites must take as its limit the non-destruction of the unity of opposites. But this is only temporary. When the unity of opposites becomes an obstacle to the development of things, the struggle of opposites must finally dissolve the old unity and establish a new unity; this is the determining function of struggle in contradictions for the development of things, and it was only with this meaning that Lenin said, "Development is the struggle of opposites." This definitely does not mean that Lenin only recognized struggle as movement in the development of things. According to this understanding, we must grasp opposites in unity and grasp unity in struggle.

II

How do we grasp the struggle between opposites in the unity of opposites? I think we must at least work on the three points below:

First, under favorable conditions for the existence and development of opposites, it is necessary to adroitly guide actions according to circumstances and to effectively make use of the existence and development of opposites in developing oneself. This point is applicable to both antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. The former are seen in the series of policies known as "walking on two legs"; the latter is seen in the utilization of the national capitalist industry and commerce during the democratic revolutionary stage, as well as in the deep penetration of enemy lines and the releasing of prisoners during the struggle against the enemy. They are both examples of grasping the struggle between opposites in the unity of opposites. This is also said in the book "Laozi": "What is in the end to be shrunk begins by being stretched out. What is in the end to be weakened begins by being first made strong. What is in the end to be thrown down begins by being first set on high. What is in the end to be despoiled begins by being first richly endowed." As for in what opportunities and occasions and in what aspects opposites should be allowed to develop or to be struggled against, their development to be blocked, and then to be wiped out of existence--this is a decision to be made on the basis of the nature of the contradiction and the concrete conditions obtaining. The way to precisely grasp opposites in order to push things forward is an extremely ingenious art of dialectics. If an opportunity or occasion calls for making use of the existence and development of opposites and we do not do so but instead exclude them; or if an opportunity or occasion calls for excluding and wiping out opposites and we do not struggle against them but instead enhance their development--then in both these cases the development of things will be blocked.

The existence and development of opposites is certainly not unconditionally favorable to the development of things. Therefore, restrictions must be placed on their existence and development. If we do not do so, then our own development will be harmed. Therefore, in making use of peasant household sideline production and country fair trade, restrictions must be placed on the spontaneous tendency toward capitalism; in making use of foreign capital and technology, we must at the same time place restrictions on the importation of the decadent bourgeois ideology and lifestyle. Struggle must be the basis for making use of opposites. If we do not struggle with opposites, then we cannot effectively make use of them. Therefore, we must grasp the opposites in the unity of opposites.

Some comrades, when explaining the dialectical method, frequently ignore the function of the unity of opposites in the development of things, even to the point of bumping against the obvious in making use of the unity of opposites and calling for it to be struggled against. This obscures the philosophical principle that there is a fundamental difference in nature between "unity" and "struggle," and is of no help in our completely and precisely understanding and grasping the law of the unity of opposites.

Second, under conditions in which the existence and development of opposites is favorable to an aspect, we should make use of the opposite aspect to develop that aspect, and we certainly should place restrictions of the

struggle to exclude opposites in this aspect. These restrictions are manifested in the scope and degree of the struggle and the form of the struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong, when explaining the principle of "just grounds, advantage and restraint," pointed out the defensive, partial and temporary nature of struggle, and said that restrictions are to be placed on both the scope and degree of struggle and the form of struggle. During the War of Liberation, our side did not need to make use of opposites in developing ourselves; on the contrary, we had to eliminate the opposites before we could develop ourselves, and, therefore, the restrictions discussed above did not exist. Comrade Mao Zedong, when discussing the relationships between the central and local authorities, pointed out: "It's not right, I'm afraid, to place everything in the hands of the central or the provincial and municipal authorities without leaving the factories any power of their own, any room for independent action, any benefits. We don't have much experience in how to share power and returns properly among the central authorities, the provincial and municipal authorities and the factories, and we should study the subject." (Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 5, p 273) No matter whether there is complete centralization of state power, the central authorities' assertion of neither independence nor decentralism acknowledges the existence of demarcation lines in struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong raised the question of how big and how many rights and interests are proper for all sides. This points to the fact that when one side excludes the rights and interests of the other side there should be a demarcation line of some size. Comrade Mao Zedong advocated that restrictions be placed on the power of the central authorities and that some power be given to the local authorities and the factories. He employed the analogy of holding and breaking up a meeting, saying that holding a meeting is unity and breaking it up is independence. If a meeting were to continue without end, the people attending it would all die. How could there then be talk about holding a meeting! Holding a meeting excludes breaking up a meeting, but also depends upon it, because if the meeting were not broken up it could not resume at a later time. Therefore, a meeting must necessarily have restrictions placed upon it and cannot be held indefinitely.

The restricting role of unity vis-a-vis struggle, or that is to say the role of making restrictions, is one of the important bases for our party in drawing demarcation lines for each of its policies.

The role of restraint and restriction of unity vis-a-vis struggle is seen not only in the sphere of social life but also in man's struggle against nature. In his "Dialectics of Nature," Engels pointed out: "The inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Greece, Asia Minor and other places chopped down all their forests, thinking thereby to obtain land for cultivation. But their dream did not come true. The land in these places has today become wasteland without a blade of grass. By losing their forests they also lost the centers of moisture accumulation and storage." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 517) In order to develop cultivable land, forests must be cleared; at the same time the existence of cultivable land depends on the existence of forests. This illustrates the fact that if one decides to clear forests one must set limits.

Comrade Ai Siqi summarized the above two points in the following passage: "The unity of opposites, under specific conditions, plays a role in giving an impetus to struggle. This is because the interdependence of opposites enhances the struggle capability of both, advances the struggle, and rapidly matures the struggle process in solving contradictions. At the same time, the objective in linking opposites with specific conditions at times properly advances the struggle." He also said: "The development of one aspect frequently depends on the existence of the other aspect. Under these conditions, we must seek a smooth development of things and must maintain the specific link between the two aspects. If, during the developmental process, we destroy the proper link under these conditions, then we will block the process. Therefore, the interdependence of opposites is manifested in a specific interaction: the development of one aspect depends on the existence and development as a condition of the other aspect. The struggle between opposites is truly the fundamental motive force behind development, but the unity of opposites, under specific conditions, is also a force that cannot be dispensed with in the development of things. This principle is of important significance for our practice work." ("Outline of Dialectical Materialism," 1959, People's Publishing House, No 194, pp 179-180)

Third, the mutual transformation of opposites under specific conditions is one important manifestation of the unity of contradictions. In studying the quantitative changes of things, we should pay attention to creating conditions for qualitative changes. When the conditions for qualitative changes objectively (not as a subjective assumption) have already matured, then we should struggle to transform them into new things. If the preceding two conditions are not combined with this condition, then we will fall into eclecticism. To combine these three conditions is to completely and precisely grasp this important principle of dialectics, viz., "grasping the opposites in the unity of opposites."

However, the reason Comrade Mao Zedong said it is "even more important" is that it is the objective basis for revolutionaries to advance the revolution, and is a stage with truly specific meaning in the development of things. This certainly does not mean that the interdependent relationship between opposites is not important and can be ignored. Take the study of the unity of contradictions in the development of things. The main objective in this study is the interdependence of the two aspects of a contradiction and not the relationship of their mutual transformation. Because interdependence is the opposite of mutual exclusion, it has a function and tendency to be in opposition of a struggle nature in the contradictions of things. And the relationship of mutual transformation in its tendency to struggle with contradictions is consistent. The final goal of struggle is to facilitate the mutual transformation of opposites. Naturally, the goal in studying the unity of contradictions in the development of things is to even better promote the mutual transformation of the two aspects of a contradiction.

In order to usurp the party and seize power, the "gang of four" said many lofty things about "transformation" and "revolution," read aloud from their "struggle classic," and completely negated the active role of the interdependent relationship of opposites in the development of things. Actually, if there is no interdependence and mutual struggle between the two aspects of a contradiction, there can be no mutual transformation of opposites.

In summation, grasping opposites in the unity of opposites certainly does not just entail the mutual transformation of opposites, but necessarily includes the above three conditions. The "philosophy of struggle" advocated by the "gang of four" abandoned the first two conditions, and also in practice abandoned the mutual transformation of opposites, fundamentally negating Engel's principal of grasping opposites in the unity of opposites.

The question of the struggle to grasp opposites in the unity of opposites is an extremely important question of the dialectical method. The relevant teachings of Lenin and Comrade Mao, as well as the example they set by using this principle in handling contradictions can help us to profoundly comprehend this philosophical thought. We should advance our theoretical investigation of this question in order to raise the level of our consciousness regarding the dialectical method and to thoroughly eliminate kinds of confused thinking created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" concerning the question of their "philosophy of struggle."

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON PARTY, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

[The following biographic information on selected party and government officials was extracted from the Chinese-language newspapers, BEIJING RIBAO and GUANGMING RIBAO published in Beijing; JIEFANG RIBAO published in Shanghai; NANFANG RIBAO published in Guangzhou and ZHONGGUO XINWEN published in Hong Kong. An abbreviated title, BJ, GM, JF, NF or ZGWX as well as the date and page of the source is given at the end of each entry.]

Chen Weinong [7115 1983 6593]

Deputy Director, Shanghai Municipal Textile Bureau. (JF 30 May 79 p 1)

Chen Y1 [7115 3085]

Director, Propaganda Department and concurrently Deputy Secretary, Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee. (JF 10 Jun 79 p 1)

Chen Yuxi [7115 37 6007]

Deputy Director, United Front Work Department, Fujian Provincial CCP Committee. (ZGXW 14 Mar 79 p 4)

Cui Yinghan [1508 2837 3352]

Vice Chairman, Luda Municipal Revolutionary Committee; led a friendship delegation on a visit to Kita Kyushu City, Japan, where he signed a friendship pact on 1 May. (ZGXW 3 May 79 p 11)

He Xiaoguang [0149 2556 0342]

Deputy Director, United Front Work Department, Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee. (ZGXW 1 May 79 p 4)

Hong Ze [3163 3419]

Deputy Director, Propaganda Department, Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee. (JF 10 Jun 79 p 1)

Hong Zongyi [3163 1350 5030]

Deputy Director, Jiangsu Provincial Agricultural Machinery Bureau [Nongye Jixieju 6593 0673 2623 2750 1444]; attended the provincial conference of overseas Chinese in Nanjing 9-14 April 1979. (ZGXW 18 Apr 79 p 3)

- Liu Tianfu [0491 3944 1133]
Secretary, Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee. (ZGXW 30 Mar 79 p 2)
- Liu Weilin [0491 1215 2651]
Vice Chairman, Guangdong Provincial Revolutionary Committee. (ZGXW 30 Mar 79 p 2)
- Liu Zhonghou [0491 0112 0186]
Deputy Secretary, Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee. (GM 18 Apr 79 p 1)
- Luo Guibo [5012 6311 3134]
Second Secretary, Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee. (ZGXW 14 Mar 79 p 4)
- Ma Feihai [7456 7378 3189]
Director, Shanghai Municipal Publications Bureau [Chubanju 0427 3152 1444], on 26 April presided over a memorial service for Chuan Lei [0278 7191], a well known translator who died 3 September 1966 at age 58, (ZGXW 28 Apr 79 p 4)
- Pan Xiejin [3382 1331 2400]
Deputy Director, Shanghai Municipal Materials Bureau; on 21 April attended a memorial service and read an eulogy for Pan Yisan [3382 0110 0005], former manager of Shanghai Municipal Coal Supply Company at Longhua Revolutionary Cemetery. (JF 6 May 79 p 2)
- Shang Jingcai [0794 2529 2088]
Director, Zhejiang Provincial Education and Health Office. (ZGXW 2 Apr 79 p 1)
- Shen Xinfu [3088 2450 4099]
Vice Chairman, Nei Monggol AR Revolutionary Committee; on 29 April presided over a memorial service for former vice chairman of Nei Monggol AR CPPCC Committee Li Shijie [2621 0013 2638] who died on 22 April 1979 at age of 85, (ZGXW 7 May 79 p 11)
- Sun Yuxiang [1327 7183 0078]
Deputy Secretary, Yunnan Provincial CCP Committee. (ZGXW 1 May 79 p 4)
- Wang Hanjie [3769 3352 0267]
Director, Fujian Provincial Overseas Chinese Affairs Office; from 29 March to 3 April attended the Second Provincial Congress of Overseas Chinese in Fuzhou. (ZGXW 6 Apr 79 p 2)
- Wang Ziyi [3769 1311 6851]
Deputy Director, State Publications Bureau. (ZGXW 7 May 79 p 8)
- Wu Hongxiang [0124 3163 4382]
Secretary, Fujian Provincial CCP Committee; concurrently Vice Chairman, Fujian Provincial Revolutionary Committee; on 29 March-3 April attended the Second Provincial Congress of Overseas Chinese held in Fuzhou. (ZGXW 6 Apr 79 p 2)

Wu Jian [0702 1696]

Deputy Director, Propaganda Department, Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee. (JF 10 Jun 79 p 1)

Xiang Ziming [7309 1311 2491]

Director, Cultural and Publications Department, Beijing Municipal CCP Committee. (ZGXW 26 Mar 79 p 15)

Yang Shifa [2799 1102 3127]

Deputy Secretary, Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee (JF 15 May 79 p 1)

Vice Chairman, Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee (JF 18 May 79 p 1)

Chairman, Shanghai Municipal Scientific and Technical Committee (JF 19 May 79 p 1)

President, Shanghai University of Science and Technology (JF 19 May 79 p 1)

On 14 May attended a conference on strengthening political and ideological work sponsored by Shanghai Municipal Education Bureau. (JF 15 May 79 p 1)

Zhao Fan [6392 0416]

Director, State Land Reclamation Bureau [Guojia Nongken Zongju 0948 1367 6593 1083 4920 1444]; on 8 May 1979 presented a banner to Shuangjiao State Farm as a progressive unit at a ceremony held in Beijing. (BJ 21 May 79 p 1)

Zhou Baosheng [0719 0202 3932]

Deputy Director, Shanghai Municipal Materials Bureau; on 21 April presided over a memorial service at Longhua Revolutionary Cemetery for Pan Yisan [3382 0110 0905], former manager of Shanghai Municipal Coal Supply Company. (JF 6 May 79 p 2)

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

TRUTH CRITERION FORUM--Beijing, 27 July--The Beijing Municipal Society of Philosophy recently held a discussion meeting on the subject of the criterion for truth. Comrades who spoke at the meeting enthusiastically proposed to promote such discussions in basic-level units so as to foster a correct ideological line and facilitate the four modernizations. Attending the discussion meeting were 100 persons. They included members of the council of the Beijing Municipal Society of Philosophy, full-time theoretical workers and responsible comrades of some districts, counties and bureaus as well as plants and factories, who were in charge of practical work. Bearing in mind the practical condition and current thinking in their localities and units, they discussed the relations between the fundamental Marxist principle that practice is the sole criterion for truth and success in realizing the four modernizations. Liu Daosheng [0491 1418 3932], director of the propaganda department of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, and Feng Ding [7458 1353], chairman of the Beijing Municipal Society of Philosophy, spoke at the meeting. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1440 GMT 27 Jul 79 OW]

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'HAINAN RIBAO' NOTES RURAL INSTABILITY, SABOTAGE

Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 26 Jul 79 HK

[HAINAN RIBAO 26 July editorial: "Uphold Stability and Unity and Insure the Shift of Focus"]

[Excerpts] Since the third plenum, production and construction in the rural areas of Hainan has been rapidly revived and developed in many important aspects as a result of further eliminating the poison of the "gang of four's" ultraleftist line and seriously implementing the party's rural economic policies. People's desires are for good order, for hard work and for enrichment. The general situation is good and full of hope.

However, there are still very great obstacles in the course of shifting the work focus. At present, certain factors of instability exist in many places. Cases of a few bad people inciting sabotage have even occurred in certain places. This is a problem to which we must attach very great importance. This problem gravely sabotages normal order in society, work and production in some places, disperses the efforts of the leadership to a very great extent, and adversely affects the shift of work focus. We must rapidly go into action and mobilize the forces of the whole party and the masses to adopt decisive methods and wage resolute struggle against the sabotage of stability and unity. We must eliminate all factors of instability, promote stability and unity, insure that the focus of work of party committees at all levels is rapidly shifted to production and construction, unite as one to make a success of current production, strive to fulfill and overfulfill the agricultural production plans for this year and fight a battle of emancipation in agriculture.

We must first vigorously propagate and implement throughout the region the spirit of the second session of the Fifth NPC and further merge the thinking of the whole party and people into the spirit of the third plenum so that the principles, policies, tasks and measures decided on by the party and government will be truly understood and grasped by the masses and translated into practical action.

Secondly, we must correctly wage the class struggle and deal resolute blows at the sabotage activities of all bad people. The exploiting class no longer exists in China as a class. However, there remain in society a

small number of counterrevolutionaries, enemy spies, criminals, degenerates, new exploiting elements, and the remnant forces of the exploiting class and the "gang of four." Although there are not many of these people, they are at all times thinking of ways to sabotage our revolution and construction. The class struggle still exists, We must by no means slacken our revolutionary vigilance and abandon the class struggle. The class struggle must not be overexpanded, but it must not be reduced too much either. We must strictly distinguish and correctly handle the two different kinds of contradictions. We must deal resolute blows at the sabotage activities of bad people. We must carry out extensive propaganda and education among the masses in socialist democracy and the legal system, so that the masses can learn how to correctly use their democratic rights and spontaneously uphold the socialist legal system. Only by doing this can we effectively consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and protect the building of the four modernizations.

In the course of strengthening stability and unity and carrying out the shift of work focus, we must further strengthen and put on a sound basis the basic level organizations in the rural areas. We must bring into full play the battle fortress role of the basic level party organizations and the model and leading role of the party members. We must periodically train the party members and basic level cadres by rotation, to heighten their ideological awareness. We must strengthen the building of the CYL, militia, and women's organizations and insure that they play their proper role.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

TWO HARBIN POLICEMEN ARRESTED FOR MANSLAUGHTER

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1143 GMT 26 Jul 79 OW

[Text] Harbin, 26 Jul--According to a HEILONGJIANG RIBAO report, the Harbin Municipal Public Security Bureau, with the approval of the Harbin municipal people's procuratorate, recently arrested Zhang Yongfa and Han Fulu, policemen of the bureau handling criminal offenses, and Lei Sheng, an employee of the city's discarded materials recovery company, on charges of violating the law and discipline resulting in a worker's death.

Leaving their post without permission, policemen Zhang Yongfa and Han Fulu of the Harbin Municipal Public Security Bureau and Lei Sheng, an employee of the electric motor department of the municipal discarded materials recovery company, went to the Shiyen Restaurant on Xinfeng Street on 21 May for drinks. While there an argument developed between them and Hu Lingyun, a worker in the third transport team under the No 1 Harbin Transport Company. Taking advantage of their authority, Zhang Yongfa and Han Fulu dragged Hu Lingyun to the Daowei district police station, handcuffed him and mercilessly beat him until he was unconscious. Despite emergency medical treatment, Hu Lingyun died in a hospital. This incident had a very detrimental impact among the masses of Harbin.

The Harbin Municipal Public Security Bureau issued a circular on this incident and called a meeting of public security cadres and police to study it so they can better observe the law and discipline.

In this connection, the HARBIN RIBAO also published a commentator's article. The article says: If the idea of seeking special privileges among the public security cadres and police is not eliminated, it will be impossible for our public security organs to perform their duties in the new long march better, and there will be no safeguards for our country's democracy and four modernizations. The arrest of Zhang Yongfa, Han Fulu and Lei Sheng according to the law manifests our party's determination to protect the people's interests and safeguard socialist democracy and the legal system. Every citizen stands equal before the law and we do not allow any privileges above the law.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ANHUI MILITARY DISTRICT HOLDS RALLY TO REVERSE VERDICTS

Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Jul 79 HK

[Summary] On 14 July, the Anhui Provincial Military District held a rally of party members and cadres of its organs and subordinate units. At the rally, the instructions of the CCP Central Committee and the military commission of the CCP Central Committee were read on thoroughly eliminating all slanders and libels perpetrated by Zhang Chungqiao and "that advisor" of the cultural revolution group of the CCP Central Committee against Yan Guang, former commander of the provincial military district; (Gu Wen), former commissar; and commanders and fighters. The verdicts on them were reversed. "This will play an important part in consolidating and developing the excellent situation of stability and unity in the PLA units of the provincial military district and in speeding up revolutionization and modernization of the PLA units and militia of the provincial military district with one heart and one mind."

In the initial period of the cultural revolution, Zhang Chungqiao and "that advisor" of the cultural revolution of the party Central Committee directly intervened in the organs of the Anhui Provincial Military District, incited a number of people to rebel against the party committee and opposed and caused disorder in the army. The provincial military district party committee was forced to make a self-criticism report on 3 August 1969 to the party Central Committee, the cultural revolution group and the military commission of the party Central Committee and the party committee of the Nanjing PLA units. The report dealt with the the so-called mistakes made during the cultural revolution. The party Central Committee gave instructions at that time. Under the pretext of upholding the instructions of the party Central Committee, the so-called rebels in the provincial military district often ran counter to the provincial military district party committee. The "gang of four's" agents in Anhui made use of the instructions to "repeatedly rectify" the provincial military district and slandered some leading comrades, saying that they had negated the cultural revolution and made the same mistakes as the capitalist roaders had made.

On 4 March this year, the provincial military district party committee made a report to the CCP Central Committee, the military commission of the party Central Committee and the party committee of the Nanjing PLA units, stating

that in the initial period of the cultural revolution a small number of comrades in the organs and subordinate units of the provincial military district had contravened the orders of the military military commission and taken it upon themselves to rebel. They indiscriminately struggled against some leading comrades of the provincial military district party committee and some departments, paralyzed the party committee and organs and caused disorder in the PLA units. The report said that, to stabilize the PLA units and enforce army discipline, it was necessary to take disciplinary measures against them. The so-called charges of suppressing the revolutionary masses and rebelling against the standing committee of the party committee and the principle leader of the provincial military district had been trumped up.

The CCP Central Committee and the military commission of the party Central Committee agreed on the views in the report of the provincial military district party committee and decided to annul the self-criticism report which the standing committee of the provincial military district party committee was forced to make on 3 August 1969. The CCP Central Committee and the military commission also decided to annul all slanders and libels leveled against the standing committee of the provincial military district party committee, Yan Guang and (Gu Wen) and to rehabilitate them.

On behalf of the Standing Committee of the provincial military district party committee, (Bu Hanjiang), Standing Committee member of the provincial military district party committee and deputy commissar, spoke at the rally. He praised the instructions of the party Central Committee and the military commission on the reversal of verdicts. Wang Wenmo, second commissar of the provincial military district, also spoke at the rally.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JILIN SENDS GREETINGS TO PROVINCE'S PLA UNITS

Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 26 Jul 79 SK

[Text] In order to mark the 52d anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Jilin Provincial CCP and Revolutionary Committees recently sent a letter of greetings to commanders and fighters of the PLA units stationed in our province. On behalf of the people of various nationalities throughout the province, the committees extended warm regards and hearty congratulations to them.

The letter stated: The Chinese People's Liberation Army is a great and heroic armed force. In the long period of the past revolutionary war, the army blazed its way forward through all the difficulties and fought difficult and bloody battles, performing immortal meritorious services in winning the victory of the new democratic revolution and establishing the political authorities of the proletariat. Since the founding of new China, the army has actively devoted itself to the socialist revolution and construction of the motherland and has resolutely and successfully carried out its lofty and glorious duty to defend the nation's independence and its territorial integrity and safety, thus performing new meritorious services for the people.

Particularly, on the historical critical juncture strategically shifting the work emphasis of the entire party to socialist modernization and setting out on a new long march among the people throughout the country, the PLA frontier units stationed in Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region have carried forward the high spirit of patriotism and revolutionary heroism in launching the defensive counterattack against Vietnam, have been willing to sacrifice, have feared neither hardship nor danger, and have courageously advanced to fight in unity, administering severe punishment to the Vietnamese invaders and winning the favor and support of world public opinion. In this battle, the army has won prestige not only for itself, but also for the country and has defended the dignity of the Chinese nation and the honor of the motherland. It has also safeguarded peace along the frontier of the motherland and the work to achieve the four socialist modernizations. The PLA frontier units have added a magnificent chapter to the more than 50-year glorious history of our army.

The letter stated: In launching the defensive counterattack against Vietnam, you have resolutely implemented the task for safeguarding the frontier of the motherland, have gone through severe tests of battle and have raised the units' military and political quality. In addition, in achieving socialist modernization, you, together with the people across the province, have fought in unity, have taken into account what the people want and have actively engaged in the tasks which are urgently necessary to realize the four modernizations. Where there is a difficulty, you have been sure to appear. Therefore, every victory won by the people across the province is attributable to your vigorous support. You are the example which the people across the province should learn from.

The letter stated: The third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee has adopted a wise decision on, from this year on, shifting the work emphasis of the entire party to socialist modernization. The second plenary session of the Fifth National People's Congress has adopted a series of documents and worked out an entire set of principles, policies, lines and laws in order to realize this grand goal. All these are changes of great historical significance. The people across the province will unite with you to continuously implement the spirit of the third plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, sincerely study and fully implement the guidelines of the second plenary session of the Fifth NPC, and extensively and deeply mobilize the masses to go all-out in doing a good job in the various tasks and resolutely fighting well the first battle of the four modernizations. In the meantime, we should continue to heighten our vigilance, defend the frontier resolutely and intensify preparedness for war so as to be ready to fight against aggression from any direction and at any time.

In conclusion, the letter stated: Let us rally closely under the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and around the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng to establish a hundred-fold confidence, exert all-out efforts, work hard for the prosperity of the country, fight in unity and courageously advance to develop China into a powerful socialist state with modernized agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology.

201: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

LANZHOU PLA UNITS EDUCATE CADRES ON PARTY DISCIPLINE

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0703 GMT 29 Jul 79 OW

[Excerpts] Lanzhou, 29 Jul--By seriously handling the case on a deputy political department director who used his official position to have his erring son transferred to another job, the party committee of the air force of the Lanzhou PLA units has educated leading cadres at all levels to take the lead in observing party discipline, rules and regulations.

On 19 March, JIEFANGJUN BAO carries a reader's letter, criticizing a deputy political department director for the erroneous act of enjoying special privileges. This deputy director's son was the chief mechanic of the No 3 Engineering Squadron of the air force of the Lanzhou PLA units. A total of six to seven engine malfunctions occurred from August to October last year. He neither reported the trouble to the squadron, nor led other mechanics to check and repair the engines. He also totally ignored discipline and regularly went out without approval. The squadron vainly criticized and educated him many times.

At a time when the party branch of the squadron was about to discuss the performance of his son as a probationary party member, he utilized his official position to ask a leading comrade of the department concerned to have this son transferred to a certain ammunition factory as an army representative. Some comrades were furious about this incident and exposed the details in the JIEFANGJUN BAO, demanding that higher level organs deal seriously with this incident.

The party committee of the PLA air force and the party committee of the air force of the Lanzhou PLA units paid close attention to this case and formed an investigation team to conduct investigations on this case. The team confirmed the truth of what the masses had reported. It believed that the practice of this deputy political department director had completely violated party organizational principles, undermined the party's fine traditions and damaged the prestige of the political department. It held that this practice reflected on the thinking of those of the privileged class on their sons and daughters and that it should be scathingly criticized.

On 31 May, the air force political department of the Lanzhou PLA units officially rescinded the erroneous transfer order and had the young man transferred from the ammunition factory back to his original squadron. With the help of the leadership and the comrades, the son conducted a self-examination of his own mistakes. At the same time, this deputy political department director returned from the sanatorium where he was recuperating from an illness. With serious criticism and help from the party committee of the PLA units, he made a self-examination of his own mistakes at a meeting of cadres and party members in the political department. He expressed his determination to correct his errors with actual deeds from now on.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

UNSCRUPULOUS CADRE PUNISHED--According to our reporter, (Wang Weili), director of the People's Armed Forces Department of (Guochuang) commune in Pingdu County, was arrested in accordance with the law because, in total disregard of party discipline and state law, he encroached upon a commune member's backyard and caused the death of the latter. (Wang Weili) and a female commune member, (Wang Meifang), were neighbors. In March (Wang Weili) wanted to enlarge his courtyard. He fell trees behind (Wang Meifang's) house and forcibly occupied a part of the latter's backyard. When (Wang Meifang) came to reason with him, his attitude was rough and truculent. He said: "If you want to report this matter to higher authorities, please do so. I am not afraid of what action you take." Moreover, he had his wife and daughter come out to scold and insult (Wang Meifang). Unable to tolerate this, (Wang Meifang) committed suicide by taking poison. After she died, (Wang Weili) remained indifferent and went on with his plan for enlarging the courtyard. This matter evoked strong indignation among the masses. Though a cadre of the state, (Wang Weili) behaved unscrupulously by relying on his power and position to encroach upon the property of another and caused her death--a matter of grave consequence. What he did was a criminal act. To protect the citizen's property and their right against encroachment and to seriously enforce party discipline and the state law, the Pingdu County People's Procuratorate examined the case and decided that (Wang Weili) be arrested in accordance with law. [Text] [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Jul 79 SK]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTARY ENDORSES DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY

Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 20 Jul 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, July 20 (XINHUA)--Development of democracy is a basic communist principle, says a PEOPLE'S DAILY commentary today. And at no time should a communist party suppress democracy. The party can only open wide the way to democracy and can never restrict it.

Opening wide, the commentary says, means to let people speak their minds while restriction means not allowing the people to speak out, that is, suppressing democracy.

The commentary is written to counter the erroneous idea held by some people that the party is going to restrict democracy because the four principles of adherence to the leadership of the party, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist road have been reaffirmed.

A communist party can never adopt the principle of suppressing democracy and if it does, it will turn fascist, says the commentary.

China's experience over the past two decades since the "opening wide" principle was put forward in 1957, says the article, shows that whenever this principle has been applied, a lively political life in the party and the country has resulted, the people have enjoyed an ease of mind and the socialist cause has developed smoothly. Whenever restrictions were applied, the opposite has been true.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the commentary recalls, at an enlarged working conference, Chairman Mao made self-criticism for the errors in the work in the previous few years and criticized some high-ranking officials for suppressing democracy and for practicing autocracy. He reaffirmed the "opening wide" principle and stressed that the principle of democratic centralism should be strictly implemented. That conference fired the cadres and the masses with greater enthusiasm for socialism, and this helped tide the country over the temporary difficulties and brought the Chinese economy onto a healthy road.

But when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in power, the normal democratic life of the party was disrupted and the people were deprived of their democratic rights. The people had to sing the same tune as the gang and no difference of views could be expressed. This brought great disaster to both the people and the national economy and China suffered a temporary retrogression.

The commentary says that past experience must be turned to good account and history should not be allowed to repeat itself.

The application of the "opening wide" principle however, does not mean there will be just plain sailing and everything be settled by the party Central Committee adopting resolutions. The influence of the several-thousand-year-old feudal ideology and bureaucracy are obstacles to democracy. And some leading members in some places and units flaunt party resolutions and try one way or another to suppress democracy. Therefore a long and arduous struggle is needed to gain full democracy.

The commentary expresses confidence that the people will win this struggle and in the course of it raise their consciousness so that anyone who again tries to suppress democracy using the power in their hands will be spurned by the people and discarded by history.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ARTICLES CRITICIZE PRIVILEGE SEEKING

Beijing XINHUA in English 0730 GMT 21 Jul 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, July 21 (XINHUA)--Two contributors' articles in the PEOPLE'S DAILY today criticize privilege seeking by some leading personnel.

An article by Hu Jiao says that a small minority of leading personnel, used to come back from assignments in the provinces loaded with presents of famous local products. Now when they come back from foreign countries or Hong Kong they bring back quartz watches, television sets and washing machines.

In the Song Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279), Bao Gong, an upright magistrate, threw an intricately carved ink slab into the river as soon as he found out his servant had secretly accepted the valuable present on his behalf. "Are cadres of the communist party no match for an upright magistrate of the feudal society?" Hu Jiao asks.

"The people will not tolerate privilege seeking," he says. "If such people do not correct themselves they are liable to be punished by law no matter how much power they have or how high their position."

An article by Zhang Xuexin says that thirty years ago when detachments of the People's Liberation Army passed through a Liaoning village they refrained from picking a single apple from the trees. When they entered metropolitan Shanghai, they slept on the pavement to avoid interfering with the life of the local inhabitants.

"The great majority of our comrades still retain this fine tradition of hard living and unselfishness. But this is found to have faded among some cadres and has faded to an astonishing degree."

He recalls that the newspapers have written about how five members of the family of a veteran cadre, including his wife, son, daughter-in-law, grandson and nephew have lived in a 396 square metre home belonging to someone else. Although representations have been made, they have fallen on deaf ears. Another example given is of a letter received by a school asking that a certain student be assigned to a job in Beijing because "she is the fiancée of the son of a director of our ministry."

"Seeking privilege for oneself or for one's sons, grandsons, fiancée or nephews by using one's revolutionary record and position is the mentality of the exploiting classes. It is incompatible with being a communist who spurns self interest and agrees to lay down his life for the nation.

"On the gates of many of our offices are hung the slogan 'serve the people.' This embodies the aim and tradition of our revolutionary ranks. While we are true to this aim and tradition, the people support us and the enemy fears us and no difficulties and obstacles can defeat us. But if we go against this aim and tradition, a proletarian party will become corrupted and the dictatorship of the proletariat will degenerate," the article says.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BEIJING RIBAO' CALLS FOR ENDING PRIVILEGES, PUNISHING OFFENDERS

Beijing XINHUA in English 0208 GMT 21 Jul 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, July 21 (XINHUA)--The BEIJING DAILY today calls for resolute efforts to check and eliminate the unhealthy tendency of seeking privileges.

The commentary quotes Comrade Mao Zedong as saying that a communist should "be more concerned about the party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself." However, the commentary notes that some leading cadres frequently have improvements made to their homes, often move to better surroundings, are very particular about their furniture and "trial-use" high-quality products without paying anything. Some spoil their children and satisfy their every demand, do their best to find them the best schools and jobs, and try every means to let them leave the countryside to work in cities. Some even violate rules and regulations to enable their children to study or work abroad, the commentary says.

This evil trend [says] first whipped up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the commentary says. During the cultural revolution, they usurped supreme party and state power, saying that "they meant everything" and that "power would be useless when it was not duly used." So they sought feudalistic privileges and led lives of luxury in disregard of the well-being of the people. As a traditional Chinese saying goes, "When one man gets to the top, all his friends and relations can ascend to heaven." Their pernicious influence remains today, the commentary says.

"This unhealthy tendency is a manifestation of feudalistic ideas on privilege and is as incompatible with the character of the party and the socialist system as fire and water. It undermines the party's prestige, weakens its leadership and damages its relations with the masses, and it also impedes unity and dampens the morale of the people, and spreads the plague of selfish ideas belonging to landlords and the capitalist class. It also erodes our party and revolutionary ranks and harms the younger generation. So this trend is a danger which might cause degeneration of the party and state," the commentary warns.

The commentary urges leading cadres to take the lead in stopping such unhealthy tendencies. It goes on to say the party's supervision should be strengthened, the organizational life of party members improved, and criticism and self-criticism be conducted. The party committee, aided by the disciplinary committee, should coordinate with other departments and departments under it should take responsibility. The masses inside and outside the party should be encouraged to expose problems and supervise their leaders.

Education on how to be a communist as well as on the fine revolutionary traditions will be conducted, and due punishment will be given to those communist party members who are involved in serious cases but refuse to repent. Rules and regulations concerning the welfare of leading cadres in general and for senior cadres in particular will be worked out, and violations of such regulations made punishable.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GUANGZHOU RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS RESUME ACTIVITY

Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 30 Jul 79 OW

[Text] Guangzhou, July 30 (XINHUA)--The 19th century "Shishi" or stone room cathedral, the "Dongshan" or east mountain church and the 1,400-year-old Lurong Monastery in Guangzhou are under renovations and will soon be open to visitors and worshippers.

The city's Huaisheng Mosque, which was built during the Tang Dynasty and is one of the oldest mosques in China, has been opened to the public since last year.

All these religious centres in this city were closed during the cultural revolution due to the ultra-left influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The decision to reopen them was made by the Guangzhou Catholic Patriotism Association, the three-self (in administration, propagation and support) patriotic movement committee of the protestant churches and the Buddhist association following a recent meeting of the United Front Work Department of the Guangzhou City Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The meeting reiterated the party's policy on religion and decided to unfreeze rents paid to local religious institutions and rehabilitate people in religious circles who had been wronged.

The religious institutions will use the unfrozen funds to support their clergy and to help some followers out of economic difficulties.

Some clerics and monks who had been forced to adopt other trades during the cultural revolution have returned to their former posts. The venerable Yun Feng, a Buddhist monk, has returned to the Lurong Monastery and become vice-president of the city's Buddhist association. Yang Hanguang, a former imam, has returned to a mosque to preside over services.

Guangzhou is believed to be the first place in China where Islam was introduced. The religion came from Arabia in A.D. 651 during the Tang Dynasty. The Huaisheng Mosque contains the tomb of Waqqas, a famous Arabic missionary.

During the past year, Moslems from more than 30 countries, including Pakistan, Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Lebanon, Iraq and Thailand, have visited the Huaisheng Mosque.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GANSU REVERSES VERDICT ON NATIONALITIES INSTITUTE

Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 26 Jul 79 SK

[Text] According to a GANSU RIBAO report, the Northwest Institute for Nationalities recently held a rally in which the responsible comrades of the institute CCP committee announced that, in line with the approval of the Gansu Provincial CCP Committee, the verdict on the trumped-up case of a counterrevolutionary coup incident in the institute for nationalities was thoroughly reversed. The reputations of cadres, teachers and students who were involved in the case were restored.

According to Chairman Mao's directive on bringing up cadres of ethnic minorities and the policy on nationalities, as well as to meet the needs of the party's work on nationalities, the Northwest Institute for Nationalities, a new-type of institute, was founded in 1950. During the more than 10 years before the great cultural revolution, under the leadership of the party, the institute cultivated and replenished a large number of political and specialist cadres of the ethnic minorities for the state and made active contributions to strengthening unity among the nationalities and developing the socialist revolution and construction in the ethnic minority areas.

(?When the agent of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in Gansu Province slandered Comrade Meng Dingjun), they turned right and wrong upside down and vilified Meng Dingjun, who also took part in the "coup" which was alleged to be personally controlled by the academician of the institute, Wang Feng. In the great cultural revolution, they alleged that Meng Dingjun had taken the institute for nationalities as a fortified point to carry out activities. Responsible persons assigned by them for the revolutionary committee of the Northwest Institute for Nationalities vigorously vilified Wang Feng, Meng Dingjun and others as having worked out the counterrevolutionary coup incident with unsparing efforts. According to their scheme, more than 80 percent of teachers and cadres of the institute were involved in the case and were persecuted. Various phoney charges were made against a number of students, and jobs were not arranged for them.

Facts have proven that the various crimes alleged against the Northwest Institute for Nationalities by the agent of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in Gansu Province are totally fabricated and slanderous. The approval of the Gansu Provincial CCP Committee to reverse the verdict in the case of counterrevolutionary "coup" in the Northwest Institute for Nationalities is warmly supported by all the teachers, students, staff members and workers of the institute. They stated; Efforts should be made to raise revolutionary enthusiasm still higher in the new historical period, to uphold the party's policy on nationalities, and to do a good job in conducting education on nationalities and in running institutes for nationalities so as to serve the realization of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI CONFERENCE DISCUSSES RUSTICATION OF YOUTH

Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Jul 79 HK

[Summary] The Hubei Provincial CCP Committee recently held a work conference on the rustication of educated young people, to look into measures for solving the problems of these people and make arrangements for this year. Han Ningfu, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and deputy secretary Li Wei listened to briefings on the progress of the meeting. Li Wei delivered a report.

In the past 10 years and more, over 800,000 urban educated youths in Hubei have gone to settle in the rural areas, where they have enhanced their awareness, increased their abilities, and made good contributions. The conference held: "Practice over 10 years has proved that the rustication of educated youths is linked to China's socialist revolution and construction. Not only was it very necessary in the past: we must also continue to mobilize educated youths to settle in the rural areas in the next few years. This is of great significance for readjusting the national economy, strengthening the agricultural foundation, and cultivating successors to the cause of revolution."

The conference discussed the scope of rustication and the policy on allowing people to remain in the towns. "The conference decided to continue to mobilize a number of urban educated youths to settle in the rural areas. The conference demanded that the party committees at all levels strengthen leadership and mobilize all those young people who should be rusticated to be to settle in the rural areas. It is necessary to teach parents to bear the whole situation in mind, regard the interests of the state as the most important thing, and encourage and support their sons and daughters to settle in the rural areas. In particular leading cadres must carry out the policies in a model way and take the lead in sending their sons and daughters to the rural areas." It is necessary to establish the new socialist style of regarding farmwork as an honor. Urban units responsible for mobilizing educated youths to go to the rural areas must select effective cadres to lead them there.

The conference pointed out: "To do well in settling the rusticated educated youths, it is necessary to do well in building up the educated youth points and promote production there. The state has made production support funds available in order to help the educated youth points develop production, and has also laid down that these points need not pay tax, hand over their profits, or shoulder agricultural and sideline product procurement tasks before 1985. This expresses the party's concern for the educated youths. All quarters concerned must take active steps, pursue good economic results, and organize a number of educated youth farms and teams which are independent accounting units as the bases for long-term settlement of rusticated educated youths."

The conference pointed out: Party organizations must continue to strengthen ideological and political work, conduct education in upholding the four basic principles and in various other aspects and handle well the contradictions between productive labor and sparetime study. It is necessary to issue regulations on the basic number of labor days to be worked and strengthen labor management.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' VIEWS UNIVERSITY STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Beijing XINHUA in English 0722 GMT 27 Jul 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, July 27 (XINHUA)--Student bodies have been set up in various colleges and universities since the smashing of the "gang of four" and are now actively organizing many activities with the help of the Communist Youth League, the PEOPLE'S DAILY notes in its news-in-brief.

The students' union at Peking University, noticing the confusion in the minds of the students on the question of "red and expert," organized discussions on the relations between the two. Through these discussions, the students concluded that as college students in a socialist society, they not only need to grasp knowledge of science and technology but should also acquire communist ideology.

The students' union at Wuhan University held quizzes on math and physics, and also sponsored competitions in compositions, math and English and forums on "socialist democracy and law." The Wuhan University Students' Union assists and encourages a number of popular societies. For example, the Department of Chinese Literature formed a "new long march literature society" to study contemporary literature.

The students' union at Chengdu University of Science and Technology helped the university to run its mess hall which now offers a much improved service to the students.

CSO: 4020

'TIANJIN RIBAO' URGES PROMOTION OF PLANNED PARENTHOOD WORK

Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 22 Jul 79 HK

[Report on TIANJIN RIBAO 22 July commentator's article: "Take Further Steps To Tightly and Properly Grasp Planned Parenthood Work"]

[Excerpts] The article said: Carrying out planned parenthood and controlling population growth are the strategic tasks facing us in the achievement of the four modernizations. We have scored certain results in our city's planned parenthood work in recent years. However, we still lag very far behind the advanced provinces and municipalities such as Beijing, Shanghai, Sichuan and Shansi.

The article said: It is stipulated in our state constitution that planned parenthood work must be advocated and popularized in the country.

The article said: Everyone knows that if we want to speed up the achievement of the four modernizations, we must greatly increase labor productivity. Population growth is in fact a reproduction of the labor force, and any increase in the labor force must suit any increase in the production of the means of production. In achieving the four modernizations, we must try as far as possible on the one hand to make production suit the feature of an abundant labor force and bring the effective role of the labor force into full play; on the other, we must seriously control population growth and the reproduction of the labor force. Only by doing so can we insure continuous improvement of labor productivity.

The article said: Population growth must suit the needs of the labor force in the development of the four modernizations. In terms of consumption, the size of the population must also suit the means of livelihood which can be provided by social production in order to insure gradual improvement of the people's livelihood. If we do not control the speed of population growth, it will not only be difficult for us to accomplish the great task of modernization according to the scheduled time, but will also ultimately affect the improvement of the people's livelihood. The key to the four modernizations lies in the modernization of science and technology. If we do not energetically control population growth now and continue to allow the unchecked growth of the number of babies born, the task of carrying out universal education will become ever greater and the

work of training people for construction will inevitably be affected. Therefore, if we want to achieve modernization in science and technology, we must also control the population growth.

After having analyzed Tianjin's planned parenthood works situation, the article pointed out: Our state demands that Tianjin reduce its population growth rate to 5 per 1,000 by 1980. However, in the light of our city's current planned parenthood work situation, if we want to achieve this target, the task will indeed be arduous and the time is pressing. Therefore, we must fully understand the gravity and urgency of the problem of planned parenthood and seriously and tightly grasp it.

The article said in conclusion: Carrying out planned parenthood and controlling population growth are very important, urgent and glorious tasks which have to be carried out for a long time to come. We must respond to the call of the party and state and seriously do this task well.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

YUNNAN ISSUES PLANNED PARENTHOOD REGULATIONS

Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 26 Jul 79 HK

[Text] The Yunnan Provincial Revolutionary Committee recently issued trial regulations on a number of issues in planned parenthood work. The regulations pointed out: planned parenthood is an important item of work in achieving the general task for the new period. It has a direct bearing on the development of the national economy and the achievement of the four modernizations, and is related to the health of the people, the improvement of scientific and cultural standards, and the prosperity of the country.

The regulations pointed out: Planned parenthood is the right and duty of our citizens. Every citizen must seriously practice planned parenthood in accordance with the demand for late marriage and few children. It is necessary to vigorously promote late marriage and late parenthood and publicize the notion that each couple should ideally have only one child, and certainly not more than two. County and district revolutionary committees are to issue certificates of merit to couples who have only one child and who have adopted effective measures to avoid having another. In the case of a worker family, the unit where the wife is working will issue health expenses for an only child up to the age of 14; in the rural areas, the production team will issue health expense workpoints each month. When a worker with only one child retires, his or her retirement pay will be increased by five percent. An only child will receive priority in medical treatment, in acceptance by a nursery, and in entering a school. In assigning housing, priority will be given to caring for couples who marry late and to those who produce only one child. The labor departments and the student enrollment and labor recruitment units should give priority to caring for an only child, all things being equal. They must also levy economic sanctions against couples of child-bearing age who refuse to practice planned parenthood despite patient propaganda and education.

The regulations also point out: In the rural areas it is necessary to advocate and encourage a man to go to live in the home of his wife, where that home has only daughters and no sons. He should enjoy equal political and economic treatment as a son of that family.

The provincial revolutionary committee's trial regulations on a number of issues in planned parenthood work also clearly state that planned parenthood must be included in the sphere of the national economic plan. When assessing progressive collectives and individuals, all fronts must regard planned parenthood as an important criterion. Units and individuals which have done particularly well in planned parenthood must be commended and materially rewarded. It is necessary to criticize and educate the principal responsible persons of areas and units which exceed the planned parenthood control targets. It is necessary to punish people who sabotage planned parenthood.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'LIAONING RIBAO' PRINTS QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON ENTRANCE EXAMS

Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 27 Jul 79 SK

[Questions and answers on grading of entrance examination papers and selection of students for institutions of higher learning carried in 28 July LIAONING RIBAO--answers provided by the Liaoning provincial student enrollment office]

[Excerpts] Question: How was the work of grading the entrance examination papers for institutions of higher learning carried out this year?

Answer: The work of grading the entrance examination papers for institutions of higher learning was organized in a unified way by the provincial student enrollment committee. As soon as the examinations were concluded, the committee called together the advisers in charge of grading examination papers on various subjects along with some of the backbone teachers to study the grading standards promulgated by the Ministry of Education and to carry out conscientious discussions on problems that might arise in grading the papers. Then, arrangements were made for the teachers in charge of grading the papers on various subjects to study the grading standards and to practice on a trial basis before they actually started their work. This year's examination papers were well bound, and the examinees' names were well concealed. The teachers grading the papers were of fairly good quality and took a conscientious and responsible attitude in doing their work. The grading procedures were very rigid, and above all, there was a general review system. For these reasons, a high-quality and quick job was done this year; the work of grading the papers was completed on 23 July.

Question: How was the minimum score for passing the examinations determined?

Answer: The minimum score required for passing the examinations was determined on the basis of the general results of the examinations and in such a way as to allow a few more applicants to pass than the actual number of students to be enrolled by the institutions of higher learning in our province. The minimum score requirements were different for science, language and other liberal arts departments. Applicants meeting the

minimum score requirements should take physical examinations when notified to do so by the student enrollment offices of the municipality or prefecture concerned.

Question: How will results of the examinations be made known?

Answer: The municipal and prefectural student enrollment offices will make consolidated reports covering the applicants' examination scores on various subjects and notify the county and district student enrollment offices accordingly. The latter will then send a notification of the results of the examinations to each applicant. Such notifications will be placed in sealed envelopes and sent to the related student enrollment units for distribution to the applicants. This will be done in late July or early August in all localities.

Question: If an applicant has doubt about the grading of his examination papers, how should he ask for a recheck?

Answer: If an applicant has doubt about the grading of his examination paper, he may submit a request on 4, 5 or 6 August for a recheck of the score by presenting his examination permit and notification of the results of examinations to the county or district student enrollment office concerned. No such request will be accepted after the above-specified dates.

Question: Are the applicants meeting the minimum score requirements subject to other kinds of appraisal?

Answer: Political performance is one of the main criteria for admitting the students. All applicants meeting the minimum score requirements should be subjected to appraisal in this respect. Party organizations at grassroots level should make an overall appraisal of the applicants' political attitude, ideological awareness, morality and character by relying on the masses, acquiring opinions on an extensive basis and seeking truth from facts.

Question: How will the foreign language oral test be conducted?

Answer: Foreign language department applicants who have met the minimum score requirements should take an oral test at the time and place specified by the municipal or prefectural student enrollment office concerned. The results of oral tests will be graded as excellent, good, average and below average.

Question: When will the applicants for the Central Institute of Nationalities take the additional examinations?

Answer: The minority applicants for the Korean language specialty at the Central Institute of Nationalities should take an examination in their native language if they used the Han language on their previous examination.

papers. They should take an examination in the Han language if they already used their native language in the previous examinations. The additional examinations will take place between 0830 and 1130 hours on 8 August. The applicants will be notified as to the locations of the examinations by the local student enrollment office concerned.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

PLANNED PARENTHOOD--In accordance with the spirit of the instructions of the party Central Committee and State Council, the provincial revolutionary committee recently promulgated provisional measures for planned parenthood in the province. This is an important document for doing well in planned parenthood and controlling population growth in Guizhou, and it has the force of law. All areas, departments and the leadership at all levels must attach a high degree of importance to this. The cadres, party and CYL members, and state workers must play a leading role and observe the provisional measures in a model way. They must spontaneously practice late marriage and planned parenthood. [Excerpts] [Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 29 Jul 79 HK]

HAN LANGUAGE DICTIONARY--Beijing, July 28--A contemporary Han language dictionary has been published by the commercial press. The 2.7 million-word dictionary, compiled by the linguistic institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, contains 56,000 entries with collocations and idioms. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0720 GMT 28 Jul 79 OW]

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